“For the Prosperity of the Nation”:

Education and the US Occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916-1924

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic to analyze how US and Dominican stakeholders used public schools to disseminate their notions of Dominican citizenship. Drawing on correspondence and memos from the Department of Public Instruction in the Dominican Republic and US military government, as well as periodicals and newspapers from both countries, this dissertation examines how US officials, education administrators, and guardians engaged in these efforts. Organized chronologically, the chapters of the dissertation feature the perspective of a core set of actors and bring attention to their distinct visions for Dominican citizenship.

Although the US military government used schools to exert state control, Dominicans individually and collectively redirected these state institutions to serve their needs and to negotiate their relationship to the state. Schools were central to how both Americans and Dominicans of all classes articulated, circulated, and practiced ideas about membership to and within the Dominican nation. From plans to create US allies in an expanding US empire to the formation of an economically productive "mulatto" rural peasantry and a cultured and informed citizenry, US officers in the military government as well as Dominican education administrators and guardians, used public schools to realize their imaginings for the Dominican nation.

In doing so, this dissertation provides two critical interventions. First, this work decenters the US in histories of American imperialism, showing that local actors were active participants in US efforts and vital to shaping their own visions of citizenship through public schools. It places

the plans and actions of US officials alongside Dominicans who supported the policies, opposed them, or were more interested in the opportunities they purported to provide. Second, this dissertation gives prominence to Dominican subjects and voices by studying their statements and actions in response to US efforts. It features a range of Dominican perspectives and reactions to the US military government and the education reforms themselves, from collaboration and cooperation to resistance.

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Acknowledgments

Although the genesis of this work began almost a decade ago as an undergraduate thesis at Fordham University, I wrote this dissertation during the centennial anniversary of the 1916 US occupation. However, my dissertation has also been shaped by multiple world-changing events: attacks of racial violence across the country and at my university, the Trump presidency and related assaults on democracy and democratic institutions in the US, as well as my hometown becoming an epicenter of the Coronavirus pandemic, which took the lives of tens of thousands of New Yorkers. 2020 was a particularly remarkable year, for both good and bad. In this time of crisis, many things have also brought me joy and inspiration. I was able to bear witness to the mobilization of Black Lives Matter protests, the complexity of Latinx identity being questioned and debated, and the resilience of my city and my people. These moments and events have helped me not just survive these difficult times, but to truly flourish. They have provided me with the fortitude to complete this dissertation.

Yet, I did not accomplish this alone, and I would not have been able to write this dissertation without my community of friends, family, archivists, scholars, and mentors, who have helped me along the way. My advisor and mentor, Professor Cally L. Waite, has made a profound impact on me and my scholarship. Her reach has been far beyond the words and ideas contained in this dissertation. Through Professor Waite's guidance, I have learned to hone my voice as an author and my confidence as an intellectual. But I am just one of the latest of a long line of scholars who have had the tremendous privilege to have been trained and shaped by Professor Waite. It takes a degree of curiosity, humility, and self-assuredness to mentor so many people with such distinct interests. Yet, she has accomplished this with care and steadfastness,

doing her best to ensure all of us realized our goals. Therefore, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to Professor Waite for her patience, compassion, and honesty, and for reminding me of the importance of this work not just for myself, but for the broader intellectual community and for the communities I am connected to.

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Alexa Rodríguez
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Dedicación

Para Mamá Antonia
(1918–2019)
Quien me introdujo a los placeres de la lectura

Para Mamá Luz
(1920–2013)
Quien me enseñó a ser una mujer fuerte

Chapter I:

Introduction

On June 12, 1923, in response to the changes resulting from the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic, a school inspector from a small northern town composed a letter to his supervisor in Santiago, declaring: "this is unfair and inhumane, as well as being notably prejudicial to the nation, to the governments that run it, and especially to the school service. How will any inspector in the future speak of the public education of this country in this period?"[1] In his message, he protested the conditions he and his colleagues faced, describing both financial and personal hardships and arguing that these injustices were committed not only against him and his family, but against the entire country. The inspector explained how the reforms instituted by the US military government caused hundreds of schools across the country to close in 1921. During this period, the government compensated school officials irregularly and insufficiently, often failing to pay their staff's salaries for over a year. These financial circumstances made it difficult for school officials to afford food, clothing, and other basic necessities.

Writing seven years after the US military took over the Dominican school system in 1916, this school inspector reflected on its lamentable state. In the months immediately following their seizure of control, the US military government had introduced education reforms that sought to create a centralized and efficient school system and were initially supported by Dominican education officials and the general public. Indeed, the reforms generated such widespread support that the school system enrolled half of the school-age population by 1920.

[1] School inspector of San José de las Matas to the regional superintendent of the northern department, June 12, 1923, document no. 0440–0441, exp_1, leg_32_37, 104819, Correspondence, official notices and circulars, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter cited AGN).

However, the very next year, just five years into the reforms, the Dominican school system faced a complete shutdown, creating the biggest crisis the institution had experienced since the mid-nineteenth century.

This dissertation examines the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic to analyze how US and Dominican stakeholders used public schools to disseminate their notions of Dominican citizenship. Schools were central to how both Americans and Dominicans of all classes articulated, circulated, and practiced ideas about membership to and within the Dominican nation. Using empire as a contextual framework, this study reveals how US officials in the government attempted to use schools to expand their power in the country and to mold Dominicans into citizens whose interests were compatible with those of the US. However, the efforts of US officials were shaped and limited by Dominicans who interpreted these policies based on their own preexisting notions of citizenship and of the role schools should play in Dominican society. This dissertation examines education during the occupation from a triangular set of perspectives—that of US officials, Dominican education administrators, and Dominican guardians—to bring attention to their distinct visions for Dominican citizenship. In analyzing education during this period through policy and in practice, this study reveals the paradox of using education to expand an empire. Although US officials targeted schools as spaces to indoctrinate and govern US imperial subjects, the case of the Dominican Republic highlights the various possibilities for agency and negotiation that schools created for the various stakeholders involved.

During the turn of the twentieth century, primary schools were an increasingly important institution in the Dominican Republic. While not yet widespread, key intellectuals touted primary schools as vital tools in the country's development, even as they received little financial

support from the government. As citizenship eligibility expanded, the country's political and intellectual leaders sought to use primary schools to provide access to citizenship and unify the nation through common values and culture. These leaders embarked on a series of education reforms from 1845 to 1915 that sought to expand, consolidate, and standardize the decentralized school system.[2] Figures such as Eugenio María de Hostos considered schools necessary for national development, as educators would be responsible for communicating civic obligations to the members of the nation. In these spaces, Dominicans across the country and throughout the social classes would be united through primary education and trained to be politically active and economically productive members of society. Dominican leaders argued that as more Dominicans became educated through schools, the Dominican Republic would gradually mature into a supremely efficient and modern nation.[3]

Similarly, US officials stationed in the Dominican Republic were also interested in using education to promote their own ideas about Dominican citizenship. Although US influence in the Dominican Republic preceded and outlasted the 1916 occupation, the US military held unprecedented control over Dominican economic, political, and social institutions between 1916 and 1924.[4] The US military began its occupation of the Dominican Republic in spring of 1916 and justified its intervention as an attempt to impose economic and political stability on the country. To establish order, the US military sought to reform aspects of Dominican society,

[2] See Appendix D, "Number of Public Primary and Secondary Schools, 1867–1920."
[3] Harry Hoetink, *The Dominican People: 1850–1900: Notes for a Historical Sociology*, trans. Stephen K. Ault (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 138-147; Ramon Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: CENAPEC, 1985); Teresita Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, *1880–1916* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Raymundo González, "Hostos y la conciencia moderna en República Dominicana," *Clío* 71, no. 165 (2003): 216.
[4] While the US military occupied the Dominican Republic again in 1965, scholars argue US influence in the country persists to this day. Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York After 1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Lorgia García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and Archives of Contradiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

including reorganizing the Dominican school system. Through a military government, US officials such as the Military Governor and Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction governed the school system and passed laws to enact their plans to transform Dominican society using schools. They believed that implementing education reforms to centralize the school system, mandate compulsory schooling, and expand access to schools would influence the country's political and economic institutions.[5] US officials perceived the population of the Dominican Republic as "mulatto peasants" and believed it was their duty as members of a superior race to "uplift" their backward neighbors. The notion that Western nations had the duty to "uplift" other nations that they deemed backward in order to "civilize" and assimilate them to western norms was based in racist logics upholding white superiority. US officials argued that by changing Dominican education, they could improve and replace what they perceived to be inferior and outdated traditions with "superior" values and norms that were more consistent with those of Americans.

Top US military officers touted their efforts as altruistic and promoted the occupation as a successful attempt to transform this Caribbean nation through social projects like those implemented through other US interventions in the region.[6] While the occupation in the Dominican Republic resembled previous US occupations across the Caribbean and Pacific, this occupation was distinct because of its duration and reach. In the Dominican Republic, US officials relied on collaboration with Dominicans in positions of power, instead of direct administration, to implement their education projects. Thus, while US officials sought to use

[5] A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 69–70; Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the U.S. Occupation of 1916-1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), xii.
[6] The US military occupied Cuba (1898–1902 and 1906–9), Puerto Rico (1898–Present), the Philippines (1898–1946), Haiti (1915–1934), and the Dominican Republic (1916–1924), during the first three decades of the century.

school reforms to educate Dominicans on notions of citizenship, they relied on Dominicans who then interpreted and executed the policies based on their own beliefs.

Dominican education administrators charged with implementing the reforms also believed their fellow countrymen lacked the skills required to govern effectively and to lead the country through its necessary improvements. Like US officials, Dominican administrators asserted that the Dominican Republic needed severe interventions, perhaps even guidance from a foreign nation, to make progress towards becoming a civilized country. They claimed that schools were central to this modernizing process since universal primary schooling would help envelope and uplift the various areas of the country and unify the nation. The administrators also contended that the school system was an effective way to propel the country into operating more efficiently. Once all Dominicans were enrolled in schools, the administrators could separate future professionals from laborers and provide each population with an education the administrators deemed best-suited to its needs. By sorting Dominicans into a bifurcated system, they could organize Dominican society into classes and educate the country's citizens based on their particular roles and responsibilities.

Since the Dominican Republic was largely rural, education administrators advocated that special attention be paid to rudimentary education and the expansion of schools into rural communities. They sought to give students in these areas agricultural training and to prepare them for their future roles as farmers. In doing so, the education administrators believed they could help to modernize the nation by increasing the number of scientifically trained farmers who participated in commercial farming, which would then increase domestic crop exports and, in turn, expand the contribution that small farmers made to the national economy. In linking the financial productivity of Dominican *campesinos* (rural peasants) to their role as citizens,

education administrators argued that efficient economic production was integral to their citizenship.

Both US officials and Dominican education administrators used public schools as vehicles to promote their ideas about what duties Dominican citizenship entailed toward the Dominican nation. They believed schools would teach Dominicans their obligations to the nation and would ensure they were trained to be informed, self-reliant, and economically productive members of their society. While US officials considered notions of Dominican citizenship on a broad scale, Dominican education administrators asserted that the responsibilities of each Dominican citizen depended on his or her individual capacities. Schools would facilitate this effort to create a more efficient society by providing differentiated instruction. Nevertheless, both US and Dominican government officials saw the role of schools as that of cultivating top-down efforts to foster Dominican citizenship. Through literacy and schooling, these officials shared the belief that they could civilize and modernize Dominicans and provide them with a path to citizenship through education.

Although US and Dominican government officials considered non-elite rural and urban Dominicans ill-prepared to take on the duties of citizenship, this was in stark contrast to how they themselves understood their fitness. Many lower and middle-class Dominicans already practiced their own notions of citizenship prior to the expansion of the school system. Through their actions within schools, these Dominicans expressed their obligation to their local municipality and advocated for that to which they believed they were entitled. By providing schools to their communities, non-elite Dominicans manifested their understanding of their self-asserted and community-based notions of Dominican citizenship. Rather than holding themselves responsible to the nation-state, these Dominicans thought of themselves as citizens of

their localities and exercised their citizenship through their work in local schools throughout the occupation. They understood the value of education and schooling in providing their children with an opportunity to access financial, social, and cultural benefits. These Dominicans believed that, as citizens, it was their obligation to be actively involved in their community and to provide educational opportunities even in the face of mass school closures by the government. Thus, Dominican guardians and community members involved themselves in school affairs and worked to ensure that local schools had enough resources and materials to run. Despite high levels of individual illiteracy, Dominicans across the country organized (through government-sponsored associations and independently) to found schools and advocate for the needs of their communities. These Dominicans practiced their self-professed citizenship by advocating for their rights, even if it meant threatening top government officials with legal action.

By analyzing education during the 1916 occupation, this study explores education broadly writ—encompassing not just the school reforms but also how different actors understood the lessons imparted through the US occupation. Rather than limiting its scope to the pedagogies or curricula employed within Dominican schools, it considers how education was central to the occupation. By schooling, I refer to the process of teaching within the confines of the school. The goals of schools are related to pedagogy and are often skill-based. They are traditionally associated with instruction in literacy, mathematics, or other subjects related to the curriculum. Scholars have also studied the implicit lessons of schools, such as the basic grammar of schooling that includes the messages transmitted by the shape of the classroom, how students are divided, how classes are organized by subjects or grades, and how schools themselves are

structured.[7] Education, on the other hand, is a more comprehensive process. It happens within a classroom but can also occur beyond the physical premises of a school. The goals of education are not limited to skills but extend to ways of thinking. Education can be liberating but can also be used for indoctrination. [8]

By examining education as a process that transcends the boundaries of the school itself, this dissertation explores how various stakeholders perceived the role of education in transforming Dominican society. It considers how these groups understood education as a process of changing mindsets and analyzes how Dominicans and Americans comprehended the relationship between education and citizenship. Many Dominicans and Americans shared the belief that education, rather than schooling alone, could prepare Dominicans for citizenship and shape the future of the Dominican nation. However, they differed in their theories about Dominican citizenship and on their aspirations for the country.

While the question of education and citizenship has often been discussed in a national context, this example provides an opportunity to study efforts to expand schooling for citizenship within an empire.[9] Separating the notion of education and schooling provides a way to reexamine

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[7] These scholars have argued that these systems are put in place to help teachers monitor and control students in order to teach to a heterogenous group of pupils. See David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 85.

[8] I am drawing on Cally L. Waite and Lawrence Cremin to think of this as a broader process. My framing around schooling and education was prompted by discussions with my advisor, Cally Waite, who made this distinction in a class on African American history. This distinction helped me to frame my analysis in the context of the Dominican Republic. These ideas are further developed in Dr. Waite's forthcoming book on graduate education, *Notes from my Advisor*. Lawrence Cremin defines education as "the deliberate systematic, and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, values, skills, and sensibilities as well as any learning that results from that effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended." See Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), x. My definition is slightly different in that I am using it to think about the intended outcomes of "education."

[9] Many historians have taken up this question about how schools have been used to prepare the country's future citizens and provide a way to unify a country around the national project. See Mary Kay Vaughan, *State Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982); Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*.

common assumptions about the neutrality of an "education" and the benign purposes of schooling. [10] Some actors valued exposure to education and the expansion of schools over improvement in the quality of instruction. In certain instances, education was part of economic or political state policy, where government officials accepted forms of indoctrination or coerced learning as education. Other stakeholders argued that education consisted of teaching future citizens their rights and duties vis-a-vis their nation or community. These individuals saw learning as an expression of progress and autonomy. Overall, however, the education taking place within schools during this period was politicized and debated amongst the various stakeholders.

There have been surprisingly few published works on the US occupation in the Dominican Republic, and there has not yet been a study that comprehensively analyzes education during the 1916 occupation.[11] This is chiefly because the memory of the period has been overshadowed by studies of the Trujillo dictatorship, which developed immediately after the US intervention. Most studies that mention education at all do so only briefly, and they tend to highlight the role of the US military government in expanding rudimentary schools into the Dominican countryside and increasing attendance.[12] While US scholars have described the era as

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[10] This dissertation contributes to scholarship that troubles common assumptions about the neutral and beneficial aspects of education. See Cally L. Waite's forthcoming publication discussing "education as reparations"; Cremin, *American Education*.

[11] Juan Alfonseca has published the most on this subject. While his work is published out of a university in Mexico, he is of Dominican descent. His studies focus on the education and imperialism in the Caribbean, the feminization of the teaching profession, as well as the schooling of ethnic minorities during this period. Though his scholarship is quite extensive and acknowledges the key role Dominicans have played in implementing the education reforms, his work does not provide an overview of the education reforms during the occupation. Also see Robin Lauren Derby, "The Magic of Modernity: Dictatorship and Civic Culture in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1962," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998); Neici M. Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing: Politics and Gender in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1961," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2010).

[12] Some studies are largely critical of the occupation, but ironically also praise US efforts at centralizing and modernizing an outdated and inefficient education system. They simultaneously condemn US actions in terms of their political practices while supports specific US efforts at reforming outdated institutions. See Consuelo Nivar Ramírez, *Sistema educativo en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Librería Dominicana, 1952); José L. Vásquez Romero, *La Intervención de 1916 vencidos y vencedores: Un análisis sobre el gobierno militar*

a period of US intervention, occupation, and (more recently) imperialism, Dominican scholars have frequently employed terms like domination or *imperialismo yanqui* (Yankee imperialism).[13] Scholars such as Wilfredo Lozano have argued that US military officials used social projects, such as the education reforms, as a *velo cultural* (cultural veil) to hide their economic interests and political motives.[14] Other historians, from both the Dominican Republic and the US, have concentrated on Dominican reactions to US occupation, spotlighted transnational intellectual protests, and addressed rural peasant resistance in the form of *gavillerismo*, the movement of guerilla fighters in the eastern part of the country.[15] Despite focusing on different aspects of the intervention, scholarship from both countries has tended to characterize the 1916 US occupation

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estadounidense en Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo: Impresora Candy, 2003); Onavis Cabrera, "La educación en la Ocupación Militar Norteamericana, 1916–1924," *Clío* 85, no. 192 (2016): 233–277. Marlin Clausner is less critical and frames US efforts as benevolent. See Marlin Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo: Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973). Only in the last twenty years have historians from the Dominican Republic begun to use Dominican sources to study the lasting impact of the education reforms during the occupation, to question the role of US officials in implementing the reforms, and to research the extent to which their actions resulted in drastic improvements.

[13] Traditional US accounts tended to treat the occupation as improving the social, political, and economic conditions of the country. See Marvin Goldwert, *The Constabulary in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua: Progeny and Legacy of United States Intervention* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962); Dana G. Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean 1900–1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). While this work is after this periodization, it is still very much in line with the traditional narrative: Stephen M. Fuller, *Marines in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1924* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1974). It was not until the US presence in Central America increased in the 1980s that historians in the US began to analyze its historical antecedents, examine resistance to the US occupation more critically, and highlight the impact of the intervention on the development of civil society and on state formation. Since then, studies of the occupation have been more critical of US efforts to reform the economic, political, and social institutions of the Dominican Republic. See Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*; Derby, "The Magic of Modernity"; Richard L. Turits, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Valentina Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic: From the Captains General to General Trujillo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); April Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014); Ellen D. Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and Resistance in the Dominican Republic* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad*.

[14] Luis F. Mejía, *De Lilís a Trujillo* (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Dominicana de Bibliófilos, 2003); Wilfredo Lozano, *La dominación imperialista en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Editora de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, 1976), 153–154. Dominicans were using these terms during the period as well. See Max Henríquez Ureña, *Los Estados Unidos y la República Dominicana: La verdad de los hechos comprobada por datos y documentos oficiales* (Havana: El Siglo XX, 1919).

[15] Calder, *The Impact of Intervention;* Julie Franks, "The Gavilleros of the East: Social Banditry as Political Practice in the Dominican Sugar Region, 1900–1924," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8, no. 2 (1995): 158–81; Isabel de León Olivares, *Defender la nación: Intelectuales dominicanos frente a la primera intervención estadounidense, 1916–1924* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2019).

as a moment of conflict and resistance. They have emphasized the authoritarian nature of the military government and the repressions of civil liberties, such as the ban on freedom of expression through gag laws and the disarmament of Dominican armies and civilians. This focus on imperialism and resistance has eclipsed the levels of collaboration and cooperation from Dominicans across classes, and particularly within schools.

Major trends in the literature on the 1916 occupation of the Dominican Republic have been consistent with those of broader scholarship on US occupations throughout the twentieth century. Traditional scholarship on US occupations has described education reforms as administered primarily by US forces and consistent with the dissemination of democratic ideals. These scholars have argued that changes were implemented primarily in an attempt to expand access to education and to bring literacy to rural communities throughout the world.[16] Most studies of the period have relied heavily on military sources, which emphasize US benevolence and downplay failures in the education system. These military records focus primarily on the role of the US military government in drafting and rolling out reforms, and many of the accounts therefore reflect the thoughts and actions of US actors. Since the 1980s, scholars have written about US efforts more critically and have framed the education reforms as part of an expanding US empire.[17] However, these studies have also depended on US sources to build their accounts.

[16] John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898–1902* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973); Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900–1930* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1977).

[17] Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900–1913* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1984); Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Angulo, *Empire and Education*; Jose-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898–1908* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Elisabeth M. Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and US Imperial Education, 1879–1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019); Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers & the Contested Colonization in the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Thus, the prevailing historiography has tended to feature US actors, accentuating their intentions and policies toward the colonized territory. These studies examine the occupation from above and rely on government reports issued by US officials stationed in the country, as well as those based in Washington, D.C.

By examining the occupation through the lens of the US military government, past scholarship has overestimated the magnitude of the US military's power, authority, and influence. While the US military organized funding mechanisms and created plans to open schools in rural communities, US forces did not generate local support. The reforms during this period were received and adapted by other stakeholders, those who were tasked with implementing the policies and who were targeted by the changes. In recent decades, newer scholarship has considered the various ways in which locals participated in US empire, in order to better understand the intricate processes of cultural adaptation and how US imperial policies were adopted and translated by native populations.[18] While these studies have examined the range of local responses to US empire, none have studied education in the Dominican Republic itself. This is likely because the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic was among the shortest of the US interventions and received limited financial and military support during the height of US empire in the early twentieth century. Being one of the least entrenched efforts, it has been largely forgotten by historians of US imperialism.

[18] Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); Léon D. Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures: America's Educational Strategies in Occupied Haiti, 1915–1934* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2008); Luis A. Pérez Jr. *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012); Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Frank Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

This dissertation seeks to provide a foundational narrative of the education policies and their implementation from the perspective of the various stakeholders involved, with particular attention to their varying degrees of power and influence. As the leaders of the military government, US officials held the most control and could change any institutional structure they wished. Why, then, did they choose to reform the education system? Moreover, it is clear that US officials could not accomplish this work alone, especially in an empire. Other stakeholders made choices to incorporate, adapt, or reject the changes proposed by foreign officials. To understand the response to US efforts, this study considers those who executed the reforms. What role did Dominicans play in their implementation? To answer these questions, this dissertation analyzes how Dominican education administrators responded to US demands, since they were responsible for putting the policies into practice and determining the details of the education reforms. Guardians are also studied because, as a group, they were the most numerous and were indispensable to how the reforms eventually reached students. Their decision to enroll their children and bring them to school on a daily basis directly impacted the success of the project.

For this research, I consulted two major archives: the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, D.C. and the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. I drew on a range of primary sources, including correspondence, memorandums, and photographs preserved by the *Secretaría de Estado de Justicia e Instrucción Pública* (the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction) and the US military government in the Dominican Republic. I examined this archival material alongside the Department of Public Instruction's magazine, *Revista de educación* (which published irregularly between 1919–1921), newspapers from the US and Dominican Republic, as

well political cartoons printed in US magazines during the years leading up to the 1916 US occupation. I also examined several heavily referenced textbooks and curricular guides, but because this study focuses on broader notions of education and citizenship, rather than schooling, curricular materials were used mostly as reference.

The Archivo de la Nación has an immense collection of documents from the Secretaría de Estado de Justicia e Instrucción Pública and the 1916 military occupation. Just from the records of the education system alone, I collected close to 30,000 documents from the digitized and non-digitized collections during January-September 2019. Despite collecting a significant number of documents and various types of source material, my data collection was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic. By March 2020, with the onset of the pandemic, domestic and international travel was suspended and thus barred me from continuing any further archival research. As a result, digitized newspapers and publications through Hathi Trust and Google Books supplemented the digitized and non-digitized archival sources.

With all the documents collected, I followed standard historical methodology to identify, evaluate, and analyze archival sources in order to craft my narrative. As part of my textual analysis, I subjected the documents to external and internal criticism, which meant that I considered factors such as time, place, and type of source, along with a close examination of the content of the documents, including the author and considerations about his or her credibility.[19] In my examination, I first identified the type of source it was, whether it was a newspaper, report, correspondence, followed by the author of the document, as well as its intended audience and purpose. I then proceed to identify who the author was, his or her national identity, gender,

[19] See Louis Gottschalk, "The Problem of Credibility or Internal Criticism," in *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 139-171; Gilbert Joseph Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method* (Fordham University Press, 1946).

class, and position within the government structure, as I performed a critical examination of the details of the documents to determine the reliability of the source and author. Once verified, I extracted the credible and pertinent information from the sources, contextualized it within the historical period, and developed my synthesis of the material collected.[20] I used secondary sources to buttress these accounts and provide the relevant historical context.

Since this study spans the entire country, the substantial amount of primary material enabled me to consider both the spatial and temporal dimensions of my research questions. It also allowed me to ensure a balance between regional and national perspectives, where the various regions were all represented and that the time frame encompassed the entire occupation. Maps provided guidance around geographic spaces. In studying correspondence, I employed maps to identify and examine where the documents originated and where they were sent. I also used maps to familiarize myself with the geographic spaces of school districts and to examine the relationships between the regional hubs where education administrators worked and the towns to which school inspectors traveled. Additionally, since many studies in the past have emphasized the years 1916–1920, I paid special attention to the 1920–1924 period and was especially concerned with investigating why the schools faced a crisis in 1921.

Because there is so little secondary literature on this topic and period, some sources provided necessary contextual information about Dominican schools and society at the time. Others, such as the education policies, offered a framework for what the system was expected to look like, while statistics and letters from school officials about individual schools gave a sense

[20] Robert McClintock's reflections on historical study have deeply influenced how I think about this work. In his essay, he points out that historians have individual methodologies, created, and shaped by the tools the historian has developed over the years of training. It is a methodology that adapts to what is needed in the moment rather than copied and replicated from others. In my work, my methodology has been carefully crafted by the questions I have asked and shaped by the type of sources I have access to and the quantity of material available. See Robert McClintock, "Some Thoughts on Graduate Study" (unpublished manuscript, last modified September 1, 2003), Adobe PDF.

of the changes on the ground. I contextualized and cross-referenced archival records with information gathered from newspapers—both national (i.e., *Listín Diario*) and regional (i.e., *Ecos del Valle*)—as well as the education system's official magazine, *Revista de educación*. Newspaper articles provided political context and information about how the military government and education reforms were perceived by the broader literate public. Photographs and political cartoons were included not only as illustrations, but as primary sources in their own right.

Reports from the US military were particularly valuable because they provided an overview of the national implementation of the education policies, why US officials prioritized education, and how they understood the plan and pace of the reforms. While they were sent to US naval officers in Washington, I also searched the reports for references to the role and actions of specific guardians and general Dominican public. This was just one of the ways I obtained a sense of the reactions and contributions of those on the ground. Keeping in mind the author, the audience, and purpose of these documents, I knew that any stories or examples mentioned would need to be checked against other sources since the military governor and other American cabinet members likely skewed their reports to emphasize US actions and achievements. The education project was particularly susceptible to this type of bias since this initiative was directly linked to US justifications of their occupation and the framing of the American intervention as benevolent. Therefore, I knew US officials would have an incentive to attempt to frame the education reforms as successful.

Often times a military governor would refer to issues that came up but would downplay their effects, like with the school closings or issues with teacher vacancies. To address the disparities I encountered, I used correspondence from the Department of Public Instruction to

reconstruct the narrative from the point of view of those directly impacted. I juxtaposed the accounts offered by the leaders of the US military government with those of Dominican administrators, principals, teachers, and guardians whenever possible. Reading the reports of the military government critically, I was able to uncover the pivotal role played by the association of guardians in the *Sociedades Populares de Educación* (Popular Education Societies) as well as find examples of cooperation, collaboration, and resistance to the education reforms, even when only alluded to in passing within the US reports.

While the official records from the military government offered an upper-level perspective, I used reports and correspondence written by the employees of the Department of Public Instruction to construct an account of what happened from the perspective of the mid- and lower-level actors. The records from the Secretaría de Estado de Justicia e Instrucción Pública were especially useful because they featured letters written by a range of stakeholders who engaged with government officials in the education system. They were comprised of internal memos and periodic reports written by education administrators describing the reforms during the occupation, as well as letters from principals, teachers, and guardians that revealed their reactions to their implementation. Letters written by guardians appeared in numerous different boxes and folders, and their dates and geographical origins varied, which demonstrated that they were not typical of one province, event, or topic. Although the letters appeared across several regions and over the course of the occupation, many of them were written to administrators in the north and southwestern departments, which also corresponded with the high number of documents preserved by those same regions. Nevertheless, despite the extensive collection of records from Secretaría de Estado de Justicia e Instrucción Pública there has never been a historical study of the US occupation that has drawn on these sources. Therefore, it was

imperative that I used these types of documents to understand the actions and perspective of Dominican stakeholders in order to redress the overreliance on US reports in the historiography.

Since the documents preserved by the Secretaría de Estado de Justicia e Instrucción Pública were numerous, I was able to sort these documents chronologically and then by the rank and occupation of the author, whether it was a regional superintendent, school inspector, principal, or teacher. Similar to my process with military government reports, I cross-referenced the accounts of Dominican superintendents who administered the implementation of the education policy, with those written by school inspectors, principals, teachers, and guardians to uncover gaps when implementing education policies into practice.

Even though the letters were largely written by employees of the school system, I had to keep in mind the inequalities imbedded within the structure. Their national identity, rank (whether an administrator or school official), position (working as a rudimentary or graded teacher), class, race, gender, and the region in which they lived, offered the different actors varying privileges and challenges. Therefore, it was especially important to identify these factors when reading and analyzing the documents. Dominican society, and correspondingly the education system, was structured hierarchically, so it was necessary to consider the positionality of the author in relation to the document's intended audience. For example, while it was typical for those of a higher rank in the education system to write letters to their subordinates as commands, letters written to superiors were generally deferential and written as polite requests.

Yet not all documents conformed to these norms. Occasionally, I came across letters from those of a lower rank (principals, teachers, and guardians) who wrote to high-level Dominican and US officials to draw attention to issues they faced and make requests for change. In these instances, it was especially important to consider how the author chose to compose the

letter based on his or her positionality, relationship to the intended audience, and what he or she hoped to achieve. In some letters, guardians and school officials were complementary towards the leaders of the education system and military government and were indirect in their requests. Other times, the authors were authoritative in their demands and expectations. In a number of occasions, high-ranking officials would write about their reaction to push back from their subordinates or Dominican guardians. In their letters, these officials expressed surprise or frustration, which highlighted their expectation for obedience from both employees and the broader Dominican public. I would try to follow up on these cases to see if the petitions were accepted or whether other actions took place as a result of the appeals.

Because of the laws policing speech, many of the government's employees, including school officials, could not publish critical accounts publicly. Although the enforcement of the censorship policies varied over time, it was important to contextualize why so few critical accounts existed. Since correspondence from guardians was not regulated in the same way, these documents became an invaluable resource because they were one of the few types of sources that could offer dissenting viewpoints. Although the letters from guardians were fewer in quantity than the other sources I had gathered, they often expressed detailed accounts and provided vital perspectives that countered the official narratives issued by Dominican and US government authorities.

It was also striking that these letters were written by both men and women, signed as individuals and in groups, and that the signatories varied widely across different socio-economic classes. This was particularly significant since US military records and historiography painted Dominican society at the time as highly illiterate. The diverse set of voices offered by the letters was also valuable when cross-referencing the accounts depicted by the top US and Dominican

government officials, who were high-ranking men to often writing to others in their group. Using the letters written by guardians, I was able to juxtapose the representations of particular education policies, such as the effectiveness of the compulsory school law, from a variety of perspectives. It should be noted, however, that like with all historical research, this dissertation was limited to the source material that was preserved within the archives I consulted. Thus, while it offers insights into the point of view of guardians who wrote to the government and whose letters were saved in the Dominican national archive, it cannot possibly reflect all of the historical actors in this group. There is still significant work to be done to uncover more of their perspectives and to address silences that persist.

In examining education during the 1916 US occupation, this research provides two major critical interventions. First, this work decenters the US in histories of American imperialism, showing that local actors were active participants in US efforts and vital to shaping their own visions of citizenship through public schools. Since Dominicans executed the reforms that aligned with their own desires for the Dominican nation, it is imprecise to simply classify these education policies as a result of US empire. I argue that an analysis of US imperialism alone does not explain the ways in which the education reforms were received by Dominican stakeholders. Instead, this dissertation first considers how the US positioned itself as the sovereign power through the structures of empire and takes into account the "imperial context" to comprehend how and why the education policy was crafted by US actors. It then draws attention to the responses from Dominican stakeholders to understand what occurred once the policies were transmitted. In that way, my dissertation places the plans and actions of US officials alongside Dominicans who supported the policies, opposed them, or were more interested in the opportunities they purported to provide.

Second, this dissertation gives prominence to Dominican subjects and voices by studying their statements and actions in response to US efforts. Since previous studies have tended to focus on the influence of US actors within the schools of the Dominican Republic, this study features a range of Dominican perspectives and reactions to the US military government and the education reforms themselves, from collaboration and cooperation to resistance. Analyzing these actions as a spectrum, this dissertation traces not just the diversity of responses by Dominicans but also considers how class and gender impacted their decisions and actions and how these decisions and actions changed over the course of the occupation. Examining the responses from Dominican stakeholders through the lens of the schools, this dissertation explores how Dominican stakeholders from all classes exerted their agency within the education system. While some actors held more influence in changing policies or chose to work with US officials because of shared views, others decided to become involved in the school reforms as a means of employment or to take advantage of increased interest in expanding schools to their communities.

In the following chapters, I organize my study of education during the 1916 US occupation chronologically. Chapter II provides an analysis of the scholarship that frames the questions, themes, and methodologies employed in this study. The dissertation draws on a range of secondary literature on empire in order to create a conceptual framework around what I term the "imperial context" in which Dominican actors engaged US actors. Schools in the Dominican Republic were local institutions run by domestic actors, each of whom had his or her own agenda and motivations, and their day-to-day management required limited interaction with US officials. And, while some actors adopted notions about education and citizenship circulated by US actors, not all the ideas promoted in the education system germinated in the United States. Some

discourses about the role of schools and education in the Dominican Republic were central to issues of citizenship and part of a longer national history of education reforms and projects aimed at assimilating populations within the nation's own borders. By examining the education reforms within the imperial context, this dissertation studies the space that Dominican actors had to maneuver within the confines of imperial policies, while still acknowledging the power dynamics involved. Furthermore, this dissertation also situates the 1916 US occupation within Dominican political history and the broader history of education. Since the intervention of US troops was just the latest in a long line of efforts to limit Dominican sovereignty, this chapter examines the history of Dominican struggles for independence prior to the 1916 US occupation in order to contextualize the country's previous experience with colonization attempts. It also examines prevailing notions of the role of schools in the early twentieth century and considers how the notions of citizenship and education disseminated during the occupation fit into the longer history of education in the Dominican Republic.

Chapter III examines the start of the occupation and education reforms from 1916 to 1918. It analyzes why US forces intervened in the Dominican Republic in the first place and why US officials chose schools as one of their cornerstone projects in the Dominican Republic. The chapter contextualizes the 1916 occupation in terms of increasingly aggressive US interventions in the country and across the region as a whole, and it considers how US officials sought to leverage education in pursuit of their imperialist aims. In 1916, US officials chose schools as a tool for their foreign policy since schools were the most effective way to reach the majority of the population and the most efficient way to implant ideas about US forms of democracy in future generations. Characterizing Dominicans racially and by class, US officials portrayed them as "mulatto peasants" who relied on American benevolence for their uplift. US officials believed

it was their duty to expand access to schools in rural areas and to ensure that Dominicans had access to an institution they deemed necessary for democracy. Since US officials were less concerned with the quality of the teaching itself or the schools' curricula, they prioritized expansion while leaving details of the reforms to their Dominican collaborators. By 1920, US officials were bragging about the success of the reforms in the Dominican Republic.

As US officials collaborated with Dominican education administrators who then shaped the reforms based on their own positionality, chapter IV continues with the execution of the education reforms between 1918 and 1920. It highlights the perspective of the Dominican education administrators in charge of translating US visions for the Dominican school system into actionable policies and programs. This chapter analyzes how and why Dominican education administrators chose to collaborate with the US military government. It documents how Dominican education administrators collaborated with officials in the US military government because they shared a belief that public schools could uplift Dominican culture and national consciousness as well as modernize the country's citizens. Particularly, education administrators saw education as a tool to both sharpen the country's future leaders, on the one hand, and to acculturate Dominican campesinos to modern society, on the other. They reasoned that working with US officials during the occupation could be a valuable means to these ends. Dominican education administrators implemented the prescribed reforms: they created a hierarchy of positions, regulated compulsory schooling, divided schools into districts, and disseminated a national rural curriculum. They faced issues when it came to enforcing school attendance/matriculation, securing funding, and other new national policies like making schools co-educational and ensuring the employee punctuality.

While the system reached its peak just four years into the reforms, it began to collapse in the fifth. Chapter V analyzes the end of the education reforms and the breakdown of the state-based school system from 1920 to 1924. Unlike much of the existing literature, which leaves out the final years of the reforms, this chapter examines how the school system collapsed because US policies that emphasized school expansion at all costs. Even as the school system disintegrated, education continued through grassroots efforts. Thus, this chapter features the perspective of guardians and community members who believed it was their duty as citizens to create schooling opportunities for children in their community even as the state failed to. Many Dominicans in rural and urban areas already expressed and exercised their citizenship within their local communities and did not see it as something the state granted through schools. In fact, ensuring that their children had access to schools was an essential part of how they understood their citizenship. They petitioned school and government officials, formed their own schools, or created alternative funding streams in order to ensure their children had access to an education. These traditions predated the US occupation and clashed with paternalistic arguments about the government's responsibility to educate Dominicans on their responsibilities as citizens.

Between 1920 and 1924, the US military government also faced massive protests from Dominican educational officials, intellectuals, and the broader Dominican Republic. In my conclusion (chapter VI), I examine the growing resistance to US forces within the school system toward the end of the 1916 occupation. Frustration from the school closures intensified nationalist protests across the Dominican Republic, as feelings of hostility towards US officials and military government grew over the course of the early 1920s. The Dominican resistance proved to be so effective that nationalist leaders pressured the US congress to launch an investigation into the US occupation of the Dominican Republic, which resulted in plans to

withdraw US troops in 1924. Despite the debilitated system, US officials continued to assert that the education project was one of the most successful improvements of the occupation. Although documents suggest key intellectual leaders who protested the occupation were also chief advocates for education, further research is needed on the role of education in the nationalist and anti-imperialist movements during the end of the occupation. Following the chapters of the dissertation are seven appendices. They include a glossary of terms used throughout the chapters, as well as a map of the Dominican Republic, an organizational chart of the structure of the school system, and charts with data on enrollment rates and the number of schools in the Dominican Republic between 1867–1920.

The narrative produced in the following chapters is an analysis of what transpired when US institutions took over the Dominican school system in a moment of increased interest in schooling, education, and nationalism. It examines the education reforms of the occupation from the point of view of various stakeholders while considering US imperialism as the backdrop, rather than an explanation for what took place. Centering the response of Dominican actors, from collaboration, cooperation, and resistance, this dissertation demonstrates that although US officials pursued education reforms for their own agenda, what occurred was more complex than imperialistic coercion. What is revealed is the pivotal role education played in defining and practicing Dominican citizenship for both foreign and domestic actors. It highlights how guardians, teachers, and administrators participated in generating schooling opportunities and contributed to conversations about the development of the Dominican nation. By situating the 1916 occupation within the broader context of US empire, this dissertation provides insights that add nuance to our understanding of the role of education in imperialism. Education and schools

were vital to how local actors of all classes participated, and at times pushed back against US imperial efforts.

Chapter II:

Empire, Education, and Citizenship

in the Dominican Republic, 1822–1916

Introduction

This dissertation on education during the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic is situated between historiographies of schools and nation-building and scholarship on empire. Scholars of education have long since established how state actors use schools to inculcate notions of citizenship and craft a sense of national unity. Since the nineteenth century, schools have served as vehicles to imbue a country's inhabitants with the values and responsibilities of citizenship, unifying heterogenous populations in nations across the globe.[1] All over the world, budding new republics recognized the need for an educated public, and universalized public schools thus became a prerequisite for modern nation-states.[2] The Dominican Republic was no exception. Its leaders emphasized education as central to the formation of Dominican citizenship and argued that primary schools were inextricably tied to the country's future independence. These leaders identified schools as vital to the success of the nation and an essential institution in

[1] Prior to this, education was usually tied primarily to religious instruction. For an example of Protestants in colonial America using informal schools to teach catechism and train clergy, see Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983). Mission schools in Spanish colonies aimed to convert and "civilize" indigenous communities by replacing indigenous cultures with the Spanish language and Catholicism. See Victoria-María MacDonald, "The Colonial Era: Schooling under Spanish Rule, 1513–1821," *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513–2000*, ed. Victoria-María MacDonald (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 7–19. Because schooling was strictly for elites throughout most of the nineteenth century, the notion of schooling and education for the larger population was a new endeavor during this period.

[2] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*: *The Modernization of Rural France 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*; Marcelo Caruso, "Latin American Independence: Education and the Invention of New Polities," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 409–417.

the Dominican Republic's struggle for political sovereignty. Yet, the Dominican Republic also represents a peculiar case where efforts to foster citizenship through schools became interconnected with US imperial projects that also centered around education.

Since historians have generally assumed that the reforms in Dominican schools led to improvements in education, re-examining the education policies during the US occupation is crucial to understanding how these changes were actually adopted, instituted, and challenged on the ground. This chapter begins with an analysis of the historiography of empire to argue that, while imperialism can be a fruitful framework for analyzing power dynamics and identifying possibilities for agency, a study of the 1916 education reforms must also take into consideration Dominican national history and the preexisting ideas of education that circulated within domestic society. Accordingly, this section is followed by a brief history of the various battles for Dominican independence prior to the 1916 occupation to contextualize the intervention of US troops as only the most recent attempt at limiting Dominican sovereignty. This chapter concludes with the history of education prior to the reforms instituted during the occupation to provide background for understanding prevailing notions of the role schools played in the Dominican Republic.

Citizenship and its relationship to education are critical to understanding education during the 1916 US occupation because they reveal how Dominican intellectuals argued for the importance of education in modernity, progress, and liberalism long before US naval ships docked off the coast of Santo Domingo in 1916. Additionally, historicizing the US occupation of the Dominican Republic provides the context necessary to understand how this point was the culmination of a nearly century-long fight for political sovereignty and self-determination.

Troubling Education and Empire

For the past several decades, the impacts of empire have generated vigorous scholarly debate. Since the 1980s, historians have documented links between the rise of imperialism during the late nineteenth century and the need to expand capitalist markets beyond the boundaries of the nation.[3] Unlike the colonialism practiced between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, imperialism during this period distinguished itself because it did not always lead directly to colonial rule. Though authority emanated from the metropole, imperial powers employed a range of strategies—including political, economic, and cultural policies—to control territories both formally contained within the boundaries of its nation and those that fell under its informal influence.[4] The US empire, in particular, used a combination of military and economic policies to control both kinds of territories for periods that ranged from a few years to over a century.

Since the 1990s, culture has become a focal point for studies of empire. Scholars have noted the significance of culture in justifying the French, British, and US "civilizing" missions, particularly insofar as it frames these efforts in terms of aid: superior nations bringing "civilization" to backward, savage-like, and tribal peoples. In their studies of empire, many authors have argued that imperialism was not just about territorial and economic expansion, but also encompassed attempts to reshape existing ideologies and the daily experiences of local

[3] Economic pressures during the 1880s and the Industrial Revolution pushed the search for new markets and to create "a monopoly or at least a substantial advantage" among nations. It was closely intertwined with political practices and foreign policy, since protectionist policies and military interventions were often deployed as a way to secure these economic investments. See Eric J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 66–67; Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Peter James Hudson, *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[4] Ania Loomba makes this key distinction between imperialism and colonialism: "Imperialism can function without former colonies (as in Unites States imperialism today) but colonialism cannot." Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Post-colonialism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 28.

actors in occupied countries.[5] Imperial powers used surveillance, inspection, and punishment as methods of controlling populations that differed ethnically, linguistically, and culturally from those in the metropole. These authors argue that the imperial desire to exert cultural influence over the societies they governed was intertwined with economic and political aims. Imperial powers invested in reshaping societal values, emphasizing principles like productivity and order, because they viewed them as essential to their economic and territorial expansion.

Literature on imperialism has also pushed us to reexamine not only the prescriptive aspect of the polices, but the ways in which they were implemented and practiced. Most recently, studies on the subject have centered around the inner workings of empire and the impact of imperial policies on the everyday life of those whom the mandates targeted. These works foreground resistance and argue that assertions of nationalism, independence, and self-determination are fundamental to the study of empire. In *Culture and Imperialism*, which expands on the arguments of *Orientalism*, Edward Said reexamines classic novels written by authors residing in Western empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to understand the relationships between the "modern West" and its overseas territories. He is interested in understanding how imperialism functioned alongside and responded to resistance from local populations, and he reinterprets the dominant discourse "contrapuntally" to understand how these colonial discourses were shaped not only by the "colonizers" themselves but also by those under imperial rule.[6] In studying the complex ways in which narratives of colonialism have been

[5] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 2014); Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1993); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991).

[6] In reading "contrapuntally," Said interprets the texts "with a simultaneous awareness for both the metropolitan history that is narrated and those of the other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts." In examining how the various discourses play against one another, Said develops a much more complex understanding of imperial power and responses to empire. See Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51.

influenced by resistance, Said argues that locals pushed back against imperial aggression by rearticulating nationalist narratives and claiming a distinct national culture.[7]

Still, resistance is only one of the myriad ways in which those targeted by imperial policies responded to and exerted their agency. As Anne McClintock suggests, we must consider a wide range of responses, which included, but were not limited to, coercion, cooperation, negotiation, complicity, compromise, and revolt.[8] In order to do so, we must expand the spaces where empire is studied and consider the complex interpersonal relationships between the subjects of empire and those who administrated it. Anne Laura Stoler's *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* explores how racial and gendered classifications of imperial subjects functioned as political acts even in domestic settings. In her work, Stoler considers how imperial policy formed binary constructions of "colonizer/colonized," which were then contradicted in practice and morphed over time. In addition to intimate relationships between Europeans and locals, Stoler examines how schools indoctrinated children of mixed races with notions of race, class, and culture that served to reinforce imperial hierarchies.

Her scholarship, along with that of others who investigate the impacts of empire from the bottom, demonstrates how imperial policies influence not only the subject's ability to access governmental resources and navigate state institutions, but also how identities are conceptualized and categorized in more broadly ideological terms.[9] These studies highlight how imperial

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[7] In his study, Said finds that as a form of resistance against empire, local actors sometimes narrativized the nation by using nationalist discourses to articulate a vision for a national community free from imperial influence. They used nationalist discourses to assert their existence as a cohesive and distinct society in order to delegitimize imperial rule and argue for independence. Said, 200.

[8] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

[9] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York After 1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); Emmanuelle Saada,

policies were by no means neutral with respect to race, or gender. In fact, categories of race, class, and gender worked together to shape which subjects were impacted by the imperial policies and in what way. In most empires, foreign white men held the most control, followed by elite men from the occupied country. Non-elite men and women were the primary "recipients" of policy.

Many authors have also examined the responses to empire during what has been commonly referred to as the "age of empire" for the US, between 1898-1930s.[10] Julian Go uses a comparative approach to study US interventions in Puerto Rico and the Philippines during the early twentieth century. In his work, Go argues that—while the US instituted a generally haphazard set of programs in a largely undemocratic way—local elites interpreted, accepted, and negotiated those key ideas and phrases based on their own preexisting frames of reference. As a result, despite embracing and collaborating with the US tutelage project, local elites in neither Puerto Rico nor the Philippines followed through in exactly the way the US had expected or intended.[11] And—while it is imperative to recognize the ways in which race, class, and gender reinforced power hierarchies and policies—scholars have also argued it is important to keep in mind how even those at the bottom of the hierarchy expressed their agency by cooperating, negotiating, and resisting imperial policies.[12] Micol Seigel's work on Brazil reveals how

Empire's Children: Race, Filiation and Citizenship in the French Colonies (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).

[10] Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire*.

[11] Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during US Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[12] Scholarship on slavery in the United States and the Caribbean provides a useful framework for understanding how those who have limited agency over their lives can still find ways to exert influence. See Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of an American Slave* (1845; repr., Mineola: Dover Publications, 2016)*;* Thomas Webber, *Deep Like the Rivers: Education in the Slave Quarter Community, 1831–1865* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978); Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Aisha Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841–1844* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

communication amongst non-elites during the early twentieth century indicated not only an acute awareness of the intrusion of US empire, but also an active participation in constructions of nation and race.[13]

Schools were, of course, spaces critical to revealing the intricacies of empire insofar as they were key sites of negotiation among actors of varying races, classes, and genders. From those responsible for drafting the education policy, to the school officials tasked with translating and implementing them, to the children and guardians targeted by the reforms, actors of all social classes and positions engaged with one another through the school system. [14] Education projects were central to the cultural objectives of empire and its attempts to reshape society. As a result, education initiatives must be understood as something broader than mere curricular or pedagogical reforms: their impact extended well beyond the classroom. In empires, education was often tied to civilizing missions that sought to develop economic productivity and prosperity in colonized territories.[15] These goals were deeply rooted in notions of Western superiority and white supremacy, and they underpinned economic and political systems that were favorable to the needs of imperial powers. Schools, however, also highlighted the ambiguity in imperial projects, as their mandates were shaped by those writing, implementing, enforcing, and receiving the policies. [16]

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[13] Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

[14] Elsie Rockwell, "Adaptations of Adaptation: On How an Educational Concept Travels from the Heartlands to the Hinterlands," in *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives,* eds. Eckhardt Fuchs and Eugenia Roldán Vera (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Elsie Rockwell, "Tracing Assimilation and Adaptation through School Exercise Books from Afrique Occidentale Française in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Empire and Education in Africa*, eds. Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz (New York: Peter Lang, 2016).

[15] Scholars have noted how European empires contended that exposure to Western cultures, political, and economic systems would "uplift" barbaric and savage peoples. Michael Adas, "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 31–63; Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho and Marcus Vinícius Fonseca, "Political Culture, Schooling and Subaltern Groups in the Brazilian Empire (1822–1850)," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 529.

[16] I am drawing on Homi Bhabha's analysis of negotiation. Rather than demonstrating opposing positions of acceptance and resistance, schools create space for ambiguity in imperial projects. Even as policies appear to be

Education was central to US empire, and schools were used as a tool for increasing imperial authority over the economic and political affairs of other nations. As the US expanded its influence during the turn of the twentieth century, it began harnessing cultural projects as part of its expansion.[17] Because the US government did not officially recognize itself as an imperial power, but rather as a purveyor of democracy, it had to justify its actions to the American public. US officials presented their interventions into other countries and their reforms as benign initiatives that were necessary for each occupied country's modernization. Education was understood as central to its governance structure: the US would teach the residents of the countries it occupied the fundamentals of democracy, with the idea that they would eventually earn the right to self-govern. In "tutoring" nations to govern themselves independently, military occupations themselves served as education projects. Furthermore, US officers focused explicitly on education and expanding access to schools as a way to promote ideologies consistent with US interests and objectives. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the US military repeatedly developed education programs in occupations of Cuba (1898–1902 and 1906–9), Puerto Rico (1898–Present), the Philippines (1898–1946), Haiti (1915–1934), and the

clear and rigid, they are challenged and negotiated through their adoption, application, and reception. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 25–30.

[17] Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 71; Talya Zemach-Bersin, "Imperial Pedagogies: Education for American Globalism, 1898–1950," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015); Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*; Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds. *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures*; Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees;* Hans Schmidt, *The US Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971); Aims McGuinness, *Path of Empire: Panama and the California Gold Rush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Jason M. Colby, *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and US Expansion in Central America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Dominican Republic (1916–1924). [18] By leveraging schools, US forces regularly used education programs to mitigate the invasiveness and brutality of their interventions.[19]

Scholars of US empire have explored how US officials argued that that their position was justified—even altruistic—to the extent that they were teaching "backward societies" to "self-govern" and assisting them on their path to modernity. In recent years, however, historical research has troubled widely held beliefs about the "good effects of colonialism." Scholars have questioned policies that were promoted as advantageous by examining the racial and gendered politics behind their formation underlying motives. As Mary Renda argues in her study of the US occupation of Haiti, tutelage served as a cover of benevolence for the brutalities of US domination. [20] The entire tutelage project used paternalistic metaphors to position US forces as

[18] There is an expansive historiography on this subject. Juan Alfonseca, "El imperialismo norteamericano y las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural," *Revista Brasileira do Caribe* 14, no. 28 (2014): 371–400, examines education reforms in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Cuba. See Robin Lauren Derby, "The Magic of Modernity: Dictatorship and Civic Culture in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1962," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998) for civic education in the Dominican Republic. Léon D. Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures: America's Educational Strategies in Occupied Haiti, 1915–1934* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2008) examines education reforms during the 1915 US occupation of Haiti. See Jose-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and US Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898–1908* (New York: Routledge, 2014) and Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013) for the case in Puerto Rico. See Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012) for the Cuban case; Elisabeth M. Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and US Imperial Education, 1879–1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019) and Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers & the Contested Colonization in the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019) write about the Philippines; A. J. Angulo traces the use of education reforms as justification for occupations from the progressive era to the twenty-first century. See A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[19] The education projects abroad were influenced by US-based practices of educating non-whites, including Native Americans through boarding schools and African Americans in the south. See James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

[20] Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); US officers were not all white and this project took on different means and positionings for African American soldiers stationed in these countries. See Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

"fathers" of children that needed supervision and instruction. These notions were reinforced by the racial politics of empire and entailed assumptions about the inferiority and submissiveness of non-white societies and their need for white male saviors.[21]

Despite the pervasiveness of this type of imperialism, the traditional historiography has tended to discuss the interventions in the schools in terms that are consistent with democratic ideals and has argued that the educational reforms were an attempt to expand access to schools and bring literacy to rural communities throughout the world.[22] Since the 1980s, historians have revised this simplistic narrative of US magnanimity by viewing the education projects as extensions of US foreign policy, insofar as they aimed to foster notions of US superiority and to further US political and economic interests.[23] And, while this scholarship has challenged notions of US benevolence, many of these studies still described the education reforms as a result of top-down imposition. They resembled the older scholarship in terms of emphasizing the role that US officials played, as well as the plans and structures they created. By focusing on legislation and institutions, these authors relied on sources from the US government itself to frame their narratives. Not surprisingly, perhaps, what has been generally missing from their accounts is an examination of how locals responded to the reforms based on their own practical, political, or ideological motivations. While more recent scholarship distinguished itself from the traditional historiography in its criticism of US efforts, many of these studies continued to overlook local decision-making and agency by neglecting the ways in which local actors may have been

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[21] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[22] Marlin D. Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo: Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973); John M. Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898–1902* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973); Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900–1930* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1977).
[23] Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900–1913* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1984); Erwin H. Epstein, "The Peril of Paternalism: The Imposition of Education on Cuba by the United States," *American Journal of Education* 96, no. 1 (1987): 1–23.

resistant or indifferent to, complicit in, or supportive of the reforms on the basis of gender, race, class, or ideology.

Over the last two decades, historical research has begun to explore the "receivers" of the education policy through the intersections of race, class, and gender, in order to develop a fuller understanding of their reception and impact.[24] By examining these reforms from the perspective of local actors, historians have discussed how they not only resisted the school reforms, but also how they adapted policies to suit their own self-interests. In her work, Solsiree del Moral examines the role that Puerto Rican public school teachers played in negotiating definitions of citizenship and colonial nationhood in the first decades of the twentieth century. She argues that US officials sought to Americanize Puerto Ricans by teaching them English and fostering loyalty to the US, in an attempt to mold them into "Tropical Yankees."[25] However, she finds that many of the local teachers employed by the US negotiated these ideas based on their social class and their own definitions of patriotism and citizenship. While the teachers rejected notions of citizenship created by US officials, they created their own counterhegemonic discourse based on their assumptions about the rural poor.

Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic has been largely overlooked in studies of US empire, despite the fact that the US had unrestricted control over Dominican economic and

[24] Eileen H. Tamura and Roger Daniels, *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Juan Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum in the Feminization of Teaching in the Dominican Republic, 1860–1935," in *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession*, eds. Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Román (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Alfonseca, "El imperialismo norteamericano y las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural"; Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures;* Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds. *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Frank Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010); Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012); del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*; Bonnie A. Lucero, "Civilization Before Citizenship: Education, Racial Order, and the Material Culture of Female Domesticity in American-Occupied Cuba (1899–1902)," *Atlantic Studies* 12, no.1 (2015): 26–49.
[25] del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 27.

political systems for eight years, from 1916 to 1924. During that time, moreover, US forces implemented several projects that heavily impacted Dominican social structures, including the expansion of schools.[26] Although the US occupation of the Dominican Republic appears to be a similar case to that of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, the implementation of the education project differs from previous cases of US empire in two key aspects: duration and depth.

In the Dominican Republic, the US government executed its reforms through what Ania Loomba calls "shallow penetration," collaborating with Dominican administrators to implement their school reforms.[27] With a highly decentralized and underfunded education system, all of the policies the US military hoped to execute depended heavily on Dominican support. Although US officials issued executive orders aimed at centralizing the school system, the US government did not provide additional funding, issue soldiers to work in the education system, or relocate teachers from the US. In fact, the application of the orders and their enforcement relied entirely

[26] Additionally, schools during the 1916 US occupation have not been studied comprehensively. As a result of the lack of literature on the US occupation of the Dominican Republic in general, education reforms have mostly been incorporated into larger descriptions of the occupation, rather than becoming a subject of inquiry in its own right. Mostly, the conventional narratives refer to the education reforms only in passing, relying on US military reports to outline the improvements in education. Accordingly, the literature has generally praised US efforts to centralize and modernize an outdated and inefficient education system. Bruce Calder's book is a comprehensive description and analysis of the US occupation of the Dominican Republic and its policies regarding health, sanitation, education, and public works. Though his description of the education reforms is limited to only a few pages, Calder creates a basic understanding of what education looked like prior to the occupation, an overview of the reforms, and issues the US military government faced in its implementation. See Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the U.S. Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 34–40. Only in the last twenty years have historians from the Dominican Republic begun to use Dominican sources to study the lasting impact of the education reforms during the occupation. Juan Alfonseca has published the most on this subject. His work focuses on education and imperialism in the Caribbean, the feminization of the teaching profession, as well as the schooling of ethnic minorities during this time period. Although his work is quite extensive and acknowledges the key role Dominicans have played in implementing the education reforms, he does not provide an overview of the relationship between US officials and Dominican administrators or outline what collaboration looked like in this context.

[27] I refer to the occupations in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines between 1898 and 1915 as the "first wave." I periodize the Dominican Republic and Haiti from 1915 to 1924 as the "second wave," since I believe the approach the US military government took during this period was distinct from the first. Loomba, *Colonialism/Post-colonialism*, 24.

on existing Dominican infrastructure and on local administrators and school officials already working within the system. For these reasons, studies of empire provide a useful framework for understanding the "imperial context" in which Dominican actors engaged with US actors.[28] My analysis of the response to US discourses and policies draws on studies of imperialism to consider how the policies left space for comprehension, negotiation, incorporation, and appropriation based on the positionality of the relevant stakeholders. Building on this literature provides a starting point for studying the power dynamics and hierarchies involved, as well as a launchpad for analyzing how schools became tools for inculcating an imperialist agenda while also being repurposed for other means. Doing so reveals how schools in the Dominican Republic provided a space for stakeholders like teachers and school officials to impart their own values related to societal norms and nationalism, or guardians to voice and implement their ideas about schools in their community and their rights as citizens.

Therefore, the education reforms during this period must also be contextualized within broader histories of the Dominican Republic and the role of schools in Dominican society. While scholars have already established that Dominicans were, for the most part, in charge of executing these changes, the extent to which they worked with US officials in implementing their vision or how they may have altered it remains unexplored. By recognizing that schools operated as local enterprises and exposing the limited impact that US imperial policies had on creating changes they intended, this example reveals the difficulties of identifying policies as "imperial" in the first place. Additionally, it provides a new way of seeing how elite and non-elite Dominicans

[28] I use the term "imperial context" to limit the framing of empire to the broader historical context, as the most significant impact of US empire was on the organization of political and economic structures. While it is important to recognize the power hierarchies created when the US occupied, thinking of the limits of empire in this way provides space for an analysis that does not always fit into the hierarchical dynamics of empire and may not have reflected the ways the historical actors experienced their own lives.

engaged with various layers of the state apparatus during this period, and it documents how they found ways to circumvent the expectations of US officials based on their own desires for schooling. Contextualizing the education reforms during the 1916 occupation within the larger history of the Dominican nation also highlights that this was far from the first time Dominicans struggled to navigate an unequal relationship with an imperial power.

Between Empires: Dominican Struggles for Political Sovereignty

The Dominican Republic is a former Spanish colony that borders Haiti on the island of Hispaniola. The island is the second largest in the Caribbean and is situated between Cuba and Puerto Rico. Prior to Spanish colonialization in the fifteenth century, it was home to an indigenous society called Taínos. As with other countries in the Caribbean, the indigenous groups living on the island of Hispaniola had been decimated by the sixteenth century. This was mainly due to brutal wars with Spanish conquistadores, harsh colonial labor policies and practices, and the rampant spread of smallpox. Santo Domingo, as the colony was called, was virtually ignored by the Spanish empire as other territories became more profitable. Nonetheless, by the mid-sixteenth century, the colony was home to tens of thousands of slaves and approximately 5,000 Spanish settlers.[29]

Unlike other countries in Latin America, the Dominican Republic did not obtain its independence from Spain, but rather from Haiti, which—in order to maintain its own vulnerable sovereignty, had taken control of the entire island from 1822 to 1844. [30] In 1804, Haiti had

[29] I draw attention to this for two reasons: first, to highlight the history of slavery and predominance of Afro-descendants in the Dominican Republic; second, to emphasize the history of Dominican Republic as an ignored, and thus autonomous colony. Franklin Franco Pichardo, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1969), 5–61; Richard Turits, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 24–27; Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (New Rochelle: Hispaniola Books, 1995), 40.

[30] This case is different from those of countries in Central and South America because Haiti was a former French colony that conquered Santo Domingo, which was part of the Spanish Empire. The independence of other nations in

secured its independence as the first Black republic in the Americas after rebelling against the French empire. While this arguably marked a historic inflection point that reverberated around the world, it was especially meaningful to those living in neighboring Spanish Santo Domingo, a slave-holding colony still governed by Spain.[31] The newly independent republic represented a unique challenge to the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo, symbolizing not only an imaginary threat by embodying a free republic of former slaves just across the border, but also posing the imminent risk of an actual slave insurgency inspired by, and possibly coordinated with, Haiti.

Though the plan to unite the island was unsuccessful for two decades, Haitian forces finally unified the two territories with the assistance of Dominicans living in the countryside in 1822, thereby securing its sovereignty and persisting as the only independent country in the region.[32] Many Dominicans in rural communities, particularly those who were enslaved during Spanish rule, were significantly impacted by the changes that occurred during this period. This

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Latin America resulted from the disintegration of confederations and territories that eventually split into separate countries. The size of Haiti and its precarious status in the world, as it was still perceived as a rebellious French colony, also makes the case of the Dominican Republic distinct. During this period, Haiti was viewed by imperialist powers as a seditious colony taking control of another colony.

[31] As a result, the Spanish and French empires collaborated to allow French insurgents to enter Spanish Santo Domingo as it attempted to gain back control over its former colony. This plan pushed Haitian officials to conclude that the best chance to preserve the country's freedom was to join forces with Spanish Santo Domingo to unify the island, in order to expel all colonial powers. The US, along with other European empires did not recognize Haiti's independence. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989); Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[32] While many Dominicans supported the initiatives both rhetorically and by fighting with Haitian allies, this was by no means an easy feat. Just weeks prior to the unification of the island, Dominicans under the leadership of José Nuñez de Cáceres called for independence from Spain in order to join Simon Bolivar's Gran Colombia unification efforts. But soon after declaring independence, Haitian President Jean-Pierre Boyer negotiated with the leaders and asked them to support unification with Haiti. Fully aware that members of their class were outraged by their toppling of the Spanish government and realizing that the majority of the population was in favor of unification with Haiti, Nuñez de Cáceres and his followers saw no other way but to support Boyer's efforts. So, by 1822, President Boyer successfully unified the island and began his governance of Hispaniola, which would last for over twenty years. Ginetta E. B. Candelario, *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 37.

was largely because the policies impacted their daily lives, such as the abolition of slavery, land distribution programs, the institution of laws that permitted individual, rather than communal, land ownership, and the establishment of legal equality irrespective of race.

Figure 2.1 Casimiro N. De Moya, *Mapa de la isla de Santo Domingo y Haiti* (Map of the Island of Santo Domingo and Haiti) (London: Rand McNally, 1906) https://www.loc.gov/item/2009579477/.

Not all Dominicans were pleased with the new changes. Some Dominican writers and elites were threatened by the end of slavery and other policies instituted by the Haitian government. After twenty-two years of rule, Haitian President Jean-Pierre Boyer was overthrown by General Charles Hérard, allowing Dominican nationalists and pro-independence leaders to successfully fight for the separation from Haiti in 1844. Many, concerned with preserving a sense of the "whiteness" of the Dominican Republic, portrayed President Boyer's policies as fostering Black "racial-exclusivism." These elites began actively constructing the national

narrative of the Dominican Republic as a civilized country, whose whiteness and modernity differed from Haiti's Blackness and savagery. Depicting Haiti in sharp contrast to the Dominican Republic, they explicitly used racialized terms to distance Dominican identity from Haitian.[33] These constructions cast the 1822 unification as a pivotal moment, portraying it as an act of coercion and Haitian aggression, rather than a choice that resulted from collaboration. [34] They characterized the Boyer administration as inefficient and backward, leading the presumably more advanced Santo Domingo in the wrong direction. Influenced by these anti-Black discourses, Dominican nationalists in the decades following independence continued to articulate Dominican national identity in terms that opposed it to Haitian, imagining the Dominican nation as comprised of a "mixed-race" people. In doing so, they privileged the Spanish language, Catholicism, and proximity to whiteness as key to what it meant to be Dominican.

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[33] Anne Eller, *We Dream Together: Dominican Independence, Haiti, and the Fight for Caribbean Freedom* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Teresita Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1916* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 93–104; Pedro L. San Miguel, *The Imagined Island: History, Identity, and Utopia in Hispaniola* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 46–50.

[34] Although the unification of island only lasted a little over two decades, this point is particularly important in how Dominican national identity developed over the course of the twentieth century, and arguably still to this day. Many historians, both in the Dominican Republic and in the United States, have continued to perpetuate anti-Black discourses by referring to this moment as the era of "Haitian domination" or "Haitian occupation." By employing these terms, scholars have contributed to characterizing the moment as the loss of Dominican sovereignty, thereby erasing the memory of Dominican collaboration, while also racializing the actions of Haitian leaders as naturally aggressive. They also perpetuated the notion that Dominican national identity has always been in opposition to Haiti, where Dominicans are characterized by their mixed heritage and cultural ties to Spain, rendering irrefutable their distinctness from Haiti. My dissertation builds on the wealth of revisionist scholarship that historicizes and questions the notion of a natural opposition between the two countries, while also contributing to the literature that argues that the Dominican national project cannot be separated from the country's relationship to Haiti, Spain, and the US. See Franco Pichardo, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana*; Silvio Torres-Saillant, "The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity," *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 3 (1998): 126–46; Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*; Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*; Candelario, *Black behind the Ears*; Robin Lauren Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); April Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014); Eller, *We Dream Together*; Lorgia García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and Archives of Contradiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Edward Paulino, *Dividing Hispaniola: The Dominican Republic's Border Campaign Against Haiti, 1930–1961* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016); Dixa Ramirez, *Colonial Phantoms: Belonging and Refusal in the Dominican Americas, from the 19th Century to the Present* (New York: New York University Press, 2018).

Forty years after gaining independence from Spain and just two decades after independence from Haiti, the Dominican Republic was once again in a struggle with Spain to maintain its freedom. Caught between two *caudillos*, or strongmen, the Dominican government alternated between the governments of Buenaventura Báez and Pedro Santana from 1845 to 1864, both of whom favored annexation. [35] Under the control of Pedro Santana, the country formally agreed to relinquish Dominican sovereignty and return authority to Spain in 1861. Santana defended his move by exploiting existing anti-Haitian sentiment within the elite class, perpetuating the myth of a "permanent war with Haiti" and arguing that the return to imperial rule was a safeguard against another pending Haitian incursion. Santana proposed Spanish intervention as the ideal solution to such a threat, since Spanish military forces were strong enough to protect the country, not to mention that Spain, unlike Haiti, also shared a common *raza* with Dominicans.[36] With this agreement, Spanish forces reoccupied the Dominican Republic, but faced widespread opposition from both nationalists and rural Dominicans, who feared Spanish control would mean the reestablishment of slavery. Thus, Dominican communities throughout the country protested the annexation by abandoning their homes, burning their villages, and joining guerilla fighters to prevent the Spanish army from gaining ground. Along with their Haitian allies, Dominican forces successfully defeated the Spanish in 1865.

By the early twentieth century, the Dominican Republic was a new nation grappling with political turmoil and economic volatility. Having emancipated itself first from Haiti in 1844 and

[35] Popular in Latin America, the *caudillo* was often a local strongman who gained power through intense populist support from the masses. See John C. Chasteen, *Heroes on Horseback: A Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 2–3.
[36] By *raza*, Santana argued that Dominicans shared similar language, religion, and ancestry with the Spanish, while implying that these constituted inherent differences with Haiti. Eller, *We Dream Together*, 67–71; San Miguel, *The Imagined Island,* 51; San Miguel, 81.

then again from Spanish recolonization in 1865, the country was beset by continuous civil wars, recessions, and mounting foreign debt. During this period, Dominican leaders also swapped their proposed annexation to Spain for the opportunity to foster a close relationship with another world power. Through political and economic arrangements with the Dominican Republic, the US became increasingly involved in the country's affairs.

At the turn of the century, US officials were concerned with what they perceived as the country's lack of leadership and its considerable debt to European creditors. The US government feared the impact of the Dominican Republic's instability on US investments in Dominican agriculture and American geo-political strategy, particularly the newly constructed Panama Canal. The US government worried this environment would create a situation in which the country could be occupied by an enemy force sent to collect on delinquent loans and then used as a naval base during World War I.[37] Deciding to take preemptive measures against this possible scenario, US President Woodrow Wilson sent a military contingent to forcefully occupy the Dominican Republic in the spring of 1916.

While Dominicans across the country engaged in widespread protests at the start of the US occupation, by the time a military government had been established in November, many elite and middle-class Dominicans opted to cooperate with US officials and accept key posts in the new administration. Between 1917 and 1924, Dominicans worked with the US military

[37] US interest in the economic and political stability of the Dominican Republic came as a result of growing US investment in sugar, its proximity to the Panama Canal for trade, and its potential as a US naval base. Since the nineteenth century, US Presidents have considered the economic benefits of maintaining a close relationship with the country, and President Ulysses S. Grant went so far as to work with the US senate on an attempt to annex it in 1869. Yet, by the early twentieth century, the US government grew concerned with the country's civil wars and mounting debt to European creditors. US officials believed the Dominican Republic was in jeopardy of falling under European control because of its significant loans and strategic location in the Caribbean. Already preoccupied with World War I, both issues would create additional political and economic concerns for the United States. With the Panama Canal as one the United States' most important assets, falling under European influence would mean countries like Germany could block trade going to US allies in the West. See Calder, *The Impact of Intervention,* 4.

government on several projects that aimed to reform different aspects of Dominican society, including a reorganization of the education system. They did so because of long-held notions about the role of education in Dominican society prior to the 1916 occupation.

Schools and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Dominican Republic

During the late nineteenth century, the Dominican Republic was, as mentioned above, a nation fraught with significant socioeconomic disparities, financial recessions, and increasing foreign debt. Because it was largely rural, the Dominican Republic's economy was agriculturally based, and most of the country's residents worked as self-sufficient farmers. As the national infrastructure was inadequate to facilitate trade and transit across regions, small farmers who engaged in commercial agricultural were restricted to local markets. Because of the obstacles to travel and trade, the nation's social, political, and economic structures functioned on a regional rather than national level. The Dominican Republic was also scarcely populated, with most of its residents living in rural areas, so most Dominicans were accustomed to living autonomously, with limited oversight or interference from the municipal and national governments.[38] Racially and ethnically, the Dominican Republic was comprised mostly of descendants of Spaniards and enslaved Africans who spoke Spanish and practiced Catholicism. Its northern region was also home to communities descended from African American freemen who were Protestants and spoke English.[39]

[38] In 1871, there were 150,000 residents living in the Dominican Republic. See Harry Hoetink, *The Dominican People: 1850-1900: Notes for a Historical* Sociology, trans. Stephen K. Ault (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 19; Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*, 52.

[39] In 1820, President Boyer recruited freedmen from the US by offering them free passage, accommodations for four months, and thirty-six acres of land for every twelve immigrants. Many decided to stay and created communities in Santiago, Puerto Plata and Samaná. See Hoetink, *The Dominican People*, 20; Christina Davidson, "Black Protestants in a Catholic Land: The AME Church in the Dominican Republic 1899–1916," *New West Indian Guide* 89 (2015): 258–288; Juan Alfonseca, "Escolarización y minorías étnicas en la República Dominicana, 1918–1944," *Cuadernos Interculturales* 6, no. 11 (2008): 17–45.

In this period, the Dominican Republic was undergoing vast transformations in terms of agriculture, population, and leadership. Starting in the late-nineteenth century, sugar plantations and mills began popping up in the east. Many of them were initially owned by Cuban exiles, who had left during the unsuccessful struggle for Cuban independence known as the Ten Years War (1868–1878), and they were later bought up by US investors after a major economic crisis in the 1880s. In subsequent decades, Spanish, Italian, and German immigrants, and a number of wealthy migrants from Puerto Rico also became merchants and farmers cultivating and selling the cash crop. As the sugar industry expanded, so did the demand for plantation workers. This boom in the sugar industry led to an increased number of Haitian immigrants and contracted laborers arriving from British and French Caribbean islands. The increased immigration generated by the sugar industry eventually led to a tripling of the nation's population in just thirty years.[40]

The country was also grappling with continuous civil wars, following the assassination of the dictator Ulises Heureaux (popularly referred to as Lilís). *Letrados*, as the intellectual elite were called, considered themselves best equipped to run the country and emerged as the key leaders of the period.[41] Educator, philosopher, and sociologist Eugenio María de Hostos (1839–1903) famously declared, "civilización o muerte" (civilization or death), insisting that a national civilizing mission was vital to the life of the nation. These men understood their responsibility as

[40] Hoetink, *The Dominican People*, 19; Juan Alfonseca, "Escolarización y minorías étnicas en la República Dominicana," 18; Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic,* 9.

[41] I am drawing on Angel Rama's notion of *letrados*, or the lettered elite, as influential figures in imagining, mapping, and narrativizing Latin American cities. See Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996). Martínez-Vergne also uses this as a way of interpreting the Dominican intellectual elite of the period. See Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 2–3; For information about the major projects instituted by the dictator Lilís and the financial agreement with the San Domingo Improvement Company that allowed them control of the customs receipts exacerbated the existing economic difficulties, see Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (New Rochelle: Hispaniola Books, 1995), 270–278; Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction*.

that of guiding the Dominican Republic into modernity and believed their education and status entitled them to assume this task. Figures like Eugenio María de Hostos, Pedro Francisco Bonó, José Ramón López, and Américo Lugo engaged in debates about the national project and proposed paths toward cultural and economic modernity.[42] These men held positions of power in the Dominican government that they believed would enable them to enact their vision for the country. Looking to the future, they argued that modernity in the Dominican Republic could only be achieved through a unified vision of order and progress. They sought to make the Dominican Republic an efficient state, with an inclusive and stable form of participatory government and a productive economy. By encouraging the use of scientific agricultural techniques, instituting secular education, and fostering political participation, these leaders believed they could implement the change they wanted to see on a national scale.[43]

While they envisioned a new future for the country, they believed that public participation required the populace to be both educated and economically productive. To them, it was the duty of citizens to actively contribute to the country's future. However, this created a difficult situation. Although they argued in favor of granting the rural masses citizenship, they also believed their fellow countrymen lacked the skills necessary for self-government. As a result, nineteenth century letrados reproduced social hierarchies in keeping with their understanding of modernization: that is, a civilizing project under which common people were

[42] Teresita Martínez-Vergne provides an excellent account of the letrados of the period and their vision for the nation. See Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*.

[43] Dominican bourgeois women also played a key role in using education to advance the Dominican national project, which was in keeping with other nation-building projects in the US and Latin America more broadly. Educated and elite women were recognized for their biological and social functions as mothers, bearing and raising the next generation of leaders. Notable women like Salomé Ureña and Mercedes Moscoso used education to have a broader impact on the development of the nation, opening schools for girls. Schools were central to how many Dominican women participated in the cultural and political life of the country. They viewed teaching as form of fulfilling the obligation of their civic duty, helping to create and preserve the Dominican nation. See Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing," 38–43; Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 106–107.

taught to conform to mainstream norms. The intellectual elite considered themselves responsible for the top-down process of molding citizens and forming the nation, believing that the average person relied on their guidance. In associating education with civilization and culture, elite men equated expanding access to state-sponsored education with developing the nation's citizens. They believed that, by teaching rural small farmers to take advantage of the country's fertile soil and unoccupied land, they would upgrade from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture. In doing so, rural Dominicans would become better citizens by virtue of making a greater contribution to the national economy. And by teaching Dominicans their rights and duties as citizens in schools, elites also sought to create a cohesive nation where everyone—regardless of race, class, or gender—agreed to work towards the prosperity of the nation. [44]

Although there was a general consensus among the elites that economic prosperity was key to modernizing the country, they disagreed over the most effective path forward. Some Dominican intellectuals expressed fears that the sudden growth of sugar plantations would harm the country's development, as it led to increasing levels of foreign investment.[45] Educator and jurist Pedro Francisco Bonó (1828–1906) was apprehensive about the expansion of the sugar industry and increasing concentration of land in the hands of a few wealthy elites. As an alternative, he argued that tobacco could aid in the country's economic development. He saw the

[44] This notion of modernizing a nation by increasing the economic productivity of its rural population can also be found in other countries and other time periods. See Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*. During the cold war, Salvadorans believed school reforms would help develop a more "modern industrial economy." See Héctor Lindo-Fuentes and Erik Ching, *Modernizing Minds in El Salvador: Education Reform and the Cold War, 1960–198*0 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012).

[45] As a result, these public figures sought to motivate (and at times coerce) the majority of the Dominican population, rural peasants, into producing more agricultural goods to export in order to boost the Dominican domestic output. This was supported by mid-nineteenth century "anti-vagrancy" laws which attempted to coerce small landowners into expanding production and generating a surplus that could be marketed and sold. Local government officials were tasked with ensuring that farmers were tending to an area that fulfilled the minimum requirement of 10 *tareas* (a traditional unit to measure land area) per adult male. Penalties were given to those who did not cultivate the necessary amount of land. These measures were tied to others aimed at transforming traditional practices, such as banning the practices of raising animals on the open range and informal land ownership, in order to regulate the rural areas and expanding state. See Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*, 55–66.

crop as having democratizing effects, as it needed only small amounts of land to be profitable and would enable rural farmers to participate in the industry. Like Bonó, Hostos was also suspicious of the sugar industry and warned against an economy that depended on a single crop. The educator and politician José Ramón López (1866–1922), on the other hand, extolled the advantages of the growing sugar industry even as he advocated for the production of a variety of crops. [46] In his opinion, the influx of investment from foreign capital would only benefit the Dominican economy.

While letrados felt an urgent need to develop the nation and its citizens, some were more optimistic about the capacities of the country's rural majority for self-culture and nation-building. Bonó argued that the regeneration of the nation would come from Dominican "mulatoismo," or their multiracial heritage, which fostered cultural heteronomy and tolerance and cultivated cosmopolitanism. Despite his promotion of the Dominican Republic's cultural connections to Spain, Bonó's notions of a mixed *nueva raza*, or new race, were not rooted in beliefs about the inherent inferiority of Haiti, nor did they serve as a way to distance Dominican identity from that of its neighbor. In praising the Dominican Republic's African and Spanish ancestry, his ideas of racial amalgamation differed from many who advocated for annexation with Spain as a way to diminish their Black lineage.[47] While he advocated for maintaining cultural ties to Europe, he was also part of an intellectual tradition that centered around anti-imperialism and anti-slavery, and which endorsed self-determination rather than annexation by another imperial power.

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[46] Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*, 63–65; Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction*, 15; Diego Ubiera, "Contrapunteo Dominicano: Pedro F. Bonó and Nineteenth-Century Santo Domingo," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 2015), 40; Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 7; Martínez-Vergne, 45.
[47] See Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic,* 23–27; Ubiera, "Contrapunteo Dominicano," 32–33; San Miguel, *The Imagined Island,* 50.

Others were more pessimistic about the Dominican Republic's potential and believed the natural character of the nation's rural population was impeding the country's progress. Some elites claimed that Dominicans as a people were careless and prone to gambling, womanizing, and consuming alcohol.[48] These elites argued that biological and environmental factors prevented Dominicans living in rural areas and the urban poor from pursuing viable livelihoods or adequately taking care of their children. Hostos posited that Dominicans were in an "embryotic" stage because of their colonial history, which made it difficult for them to effectively maintain a republican government. Once Dominicans liberated themselves from their colonial heritage and developed what he called a "modern consciousness," the Dominican Republic would become a civilized nation.[49] Hostos invoked a nationalist, anti-imperialist vision for the country, one that promoted economic and political independence. Of Puerto Rican descent himself and a zealous *antillanista*, Hostos supported the creation of a pan-Caribbean identity alongside the formation of an Antillean confederation.[50]

Characterizing Dominicans as generally lazy and disinterested in the political challenges facing the nation, these elites stressed the difficulty involved in transforming Dominicans from idlers to hardworking and productive citizens. Américo Lugo (1870–1952), a former student of Hostos', alleged that the rural poor were "semi-savage" and inhibited the overall progress of the nation, which was otherwise comprised of "enlightened" citizens.[51] Lugo considered the rural

[48] Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 29.
[49] Raymundo González, "Introducción," in *Documentos para la historia de la educación moderna en la República Dominicana (1879–1894) Tomo I*, ed. Raymundo González (Editora Búho, C. por A.: Santo Domingo, 2007), 11; Raymundo González, "Hostos y la conciencia moderna en República Dominicana," *Clío* 71, no. 165 (2003): 216.
[50] Hostos' *antillanismo* called for racial transcendence not as a form of anti-Blackness, but rather as a way to remove potential barriers and exploitation for Black men. As Mayes finds, "Antilleanism, like racelessness in Cuba, could provide Black men a way to broker their political power in a context that not only privileged whites, but that also view African-descended male leadership as dangerous and potentially seditious." Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic,* 33.
[51] Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction*, 30–31; Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 26; Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic,* 124–125.

poor to be generally apathetic, illiterate, impulsive, and indifferent to, not to mention unknowledgeable about, their duties or responsibilities as citizens. Lugo's perception of the Dominican character was, perhaps unsurprisingly, rooted in a white supremacist logic. He argued that the racial composition of Dominicans, originally Spanish, but diluted with African heritage, made them practically incapable of becoming a nation. Therefore, he called for more white and European immigrants to help to reduce the impacts of their African lineage.

Despite their positions on Dominican campesinos, the intellectual elite agreed that state intervention and institutions, like public schools, were essential for the development of the country and the uplift of its citizenry.[52] Similar to many nations in this period, these Dominican leaders believed schools would resolve the contradictions inherent in imagining the nation.[53] A unified Dominican nation would require its citizens to recognize specific cultural, ethnic, and linguistic markers as characteristic of the nation, and schools were considered central to the political formation of these shared ideologies. Elites hoped schools would promote the established antiquity of the Dominican Republic and advance the idea that those living in the country were part of a larger, more ancient entity. Through explicit and implicit curricula, schools would teach the importance of an individual's place in Dominican society and inform the student of his or her duties to the nation. With agricultural instruction, public schools would

[52] The belief that people can be improved through institutions like schools was influenced by theories in social evolution which argued that although undesirable behaviors could be inherited, they also could be improved through a change in the environment. These notions were circulating within the Dominican Republic and other countries across Latin America, as well as in the United States. See Nancy Leys Stephan, "*The Hour of Eugenics:" Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning*, 28–29; Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 23–24.

[53] As Benedict Anderson has argued, "nationality," or ties to nations are "cultural artefacts" and are generated by societies through processes and institutions. If we take seriously Anderson's definition of a nation as "an imagined political community," we see that schools have been central to the generation and maintenance of these created communities. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 4–6.

teach rural Dominicans to be productive members of the agricultural market and help revitalize the national economy. Additionally, through civic instruction and history, Dominicans would learn to engage in political dialogue, which elites hoped would prevent further political instability.[54] As part of their mission to inspire connection and a sense of responsibility within future generations, schools would stress the importance of each individual Dominican's role. Thus, schools could provide a centralized space for Dominican citizens to learn a shared history and culture, comprehend the imaginary boundaries of the Dominican community, and absorb notions of civic duty and citizenship. [55]

Through their positions of power, elites realized their vision for making education central to their national project. As Minister of Public Instruction in 1867, Bonó attempted to establish a free primary school in each community and institute uniform methods of instruction.[56] Although his reforms aided in the gradual growth of the school system, his efforts were hindered by national leaders who demonstrated little to no interest in the expansion of formal education. [57] In the 1880s, Hostos furthered these efforts by creating the foundation for the modern Dominican

[54] Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 6–8; Martínez-Vergne, 13–24.
[55] Martínez-Vergne, 37–45. As Neici Zeller finds in the normal schools in the period, sometimes expressions of national allegiance would hide subversive and alternative imaginings of the nation. See Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing," 42.
[56] The country was only six months old when the first education law was promulgated. The Law of Public Instruction of 1845 called for the establishment of public schools in each commune and two in the head of the provinces, requiring a total of thirty-two schools around the country. It ordered free instruction for all children beginning at age six (both foreign-born and those born in the country) and established the responsibility of funding and directing schools to the municipal governments, with the education system overseen by the Minister of Public Instruction and External Relations. In reality, many of the municipalities did not have enough money to fund instruction, and at that point there were only eight in the whole country, two of which were private schools. The schools taught religion, writing, arithmetic, Spanish language grammar, and a course on principles of urbanity and decency. The schools were broken up into two periods, 8–11 am and 2–5 pm with public examinations held in June and December. After the initial education reforms, there were 661 students in both public and private schools, located in five urban centers. Despite the efforts, schools did not address the needs of the 100,000–125,000 citizens, and the elite continued to send their children away to private school. José Luis Sáez, *Autoridad para educar: Historia de la escuela católica dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2008), 41;
[57] Ramon Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: CENAPEC, 1985), 121; Morrison, 55–81; Rafael Darío Herrera, *Historia de la educación en Santiago (1844–1961)* (Santo Domingo: Ediciones Rumbo Norte, 2012), 14.

public school system. Hostos was influenced by his travels through Chile and Spain before emigrating to the Dominican Republic. In his reforms, Hostos called for a secular and positivist education that was rooted in scientific methods and would be accessible to both sexes. [58] He argued that this type of instruction would provide the foundation necessary for modern Dominican citizenship. Hostos also valued teaching as a profession and founded two normal schools for the development of teacher training. He believed that his normal schools would aid in cultivating the skills and values that would benefit his pupils as citizens and as future teachers who would also advance his cause. An advocate for women's education, Hostos also supported Salomé Ureña's endeavor to build a normal school for women called the *Instituto de Señoritas*.[59]

In 1867, there were a total of fourteen public and private schools across the country educating 1,322 students for a population of about 300,000 to 380,000. By 1883, barely 15 years later, there were 175 schools educating over 6,500 registered students.[60] Yet, despite these extraordinary efforts, a majority of the nation's school age population still did not have access to schooling. As Dominican education historian Ramon Morrison notes, along with generating changes in the enrollment process and accessibility of schools, Hostos' reforms also impacted the

[58] Since the colonial period, the Catholic Church maintained tight control over schools in the Dominican Republic. During this period, the Catholic Church still held a considerable amount of influence over education. But the recent expansion of state-sponsored education posed a threat to their control. In particular, Hostos' anti-clerical stance and his secular reforms clashed with Catholic Church because of his emphasis on science and rationalism. Sáez, *Autoridad para educar,* 62–63; Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing," 29.

[59] Salomé Ureña was founder and director of *Instituto de Señoritas* normal school for women. Through her institution, Ureña advocated for women as mothers of the nation who were responsible for developing the next generation of citizens. In addition to emphasizing the role of women as civic leaders, the school also expanded women's access to public spaces, as civic events were held in schools, parks, and other locations outside of the home. See Zeller, 30–47.

[60] The population numbers vary. Morrison's account reports about 300,000 inhabitants while Hoetnick's book uses census data and states a little over 380,000 in 1887; Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana*, 136; Morrison, 221; Hoetink, *The Dominican People,* 19. See Appendix D, "Number of Public Primary and Secondary Schools, 1867–1920."

character and trajectory of the Dominican school system.[61] With government reforms in the 1880s, the aim of schools shifted from teaching the children of the elites to creating a space where heterogenous communities would converge during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

In the decades following Hostos' initial reforms, the Dominican government attempted to continue to restructure the education system by establishing a series of laws that would consolidate the still largely regionalized institution. Through legislation entitled "Código orgánico y reglamentario de educación común" (the organic and regulatory code of common education), issued in 1914, the Dominican government once again attempted to establish a nationalized public education system and to centralize the curriculum. On paper, the law established municipal boards of education, a hierarchy of education administrators, and a national committee in charge of overseeing the municipal boards. But the Dominican national government was still weak from ongoing civil wars, thirteen different presidents in the last sixteen years, and its mounting foreign debt, so it struggled to enforce the new legislation, despite finalizing it in 1915. Just a few months later, in May of 1916, the US Navy began its military occupation of the Dominican Republic, suspending the implementation of the recent reforms.

Conclusion

This chapter connects the scholarship that frames the questions, themes, and methodologies employed in this dissertation. While the education project of the 1916 US occupation of the Dominican Republic appears to be a prototypical example of education as

[61] Morrison states, "More than a total reality, Hostosian education reforms were a strong trend with fundamental implications in the establishment, definition and projection of the Dominican educational system." See Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana,* 229.

imperial indoctrination, an analysis of this period reveals something much more complex. During this period, US imperial projects became interconnected with Dominican efforts that also attempted to foster citizenship through schools. Therefore, instead of concentrating on the operations of US empire, this study uses scholarship on empire as a framework to understand the environment in which Dominican actors were able to engage with US actors. The literature on empire informs the methodology employed to consider how the policies allowed for stakeholders to navigate, adopt, and alter imperial policies based on their positionality. Thus, this research provides a way of locating the agency of the local actors while also framing these examples within the existing power dynamics and hierarchies. Doing so, this research sheds light on how imperialist power have exploited schools as tools for inculcating imperialist agendas as well as how local actors also used schools to exert their own influence.

Along with the broader imperial context, this study of the education project must also take into consideration the national history of the Dominican Republic and preexisting ideas of education during the period. Since the colonial era, the Dominican Republic struggled to obtain and preserve its freedom. Distinct from other countries in Latin America, the Dominican Republic was not granted its independence from Spain, but rather from Haiti. In fact, the Dominican Republic experienced three separate independence movements in nineteenth century: in 1821, a battle for liberation as a Spanish colony; in 1844, a struggle against Haiti for independence as a republic; and in 1865, a conflict with the Spanish against re-annexation.

Nevertheless, the country's struggle to maintain its sovereignty has not been generated only from external pressures. The Dominican Republic experienced difficulty stripping its colonial legacy primarily because of elite's investment in upholding white supremacy. Elites' advancement of anti-Blackness was evident in the discourses around white European models of

progress and civilization. Yet not all Dominicans promoted anti-Black and anti-Haitian notions of Dominican-ness, particularly in modeling the future for the Dominican Republic and classifying Dominican national identity. Others valued the Dominican Republic's African and Spanish ancestry in their articulations of Dominican racial and national identity.

In the late nineteenth century, education became vital to the national project. Letrados argued that schools were necessary to unify the country around a national identity and cultivate traits for Dominican citizenship. They believed that education would be a way to liberate the country from colonial ties, move it into modernity, and shape productive citizens. Schools were vital to the struggling nation as the government tried to centralize power and society, even before US forces intervened. Thus, when US officials arrived in 1916, they were met by Dominicans who were already familiar with and sympathetic to their arguments about education as a way to civilize and modernize their country.

Chapter III:

Crafting the Education Policy, 1916–1918

Education is necessary for the political stability of this country. It is assumed that the object of the Occupation is to organize a stable and self supporting democracy in Santo Domingo. The only possibility of success is through education, and therefore education is the most important work of the Military Government.

Rufus H. Lane, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction
(1916–1920)

Introduction

Starting in 1916, US military officials sought to "educate" and "civilize" Dominicans as part of their military occupation. Yet, this occupation was neither the first time US officials employed the US military to craft education policy, nor the earliest incursion by US troops into the Dominican Republic. By focusing on the perspective of top US officials administering the military government and the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, this chapter considers why these officials selected education as the central tenet of their policy in the Dominican Republic. To do so, it begins with an analysis of US-Dominican foreign relations from the late-nineteenth century to the start of the occupation. Contextualizing the 1916 occupation within US-Dominican relations highlights the increasingly interventionist nature of US foreign policy and serves to foreground the history of collaboration between the two governments.

Subsequently, this chapter considers the US officials' goals for the education reforms during the early years of the occupation, from 1916 to 1918. Initially, and on the broadest scale, the occupation was structured as a tutelage project wherein US officials sought to mentor Dominicans on effective self-governance. In teaching Dominicans how to administer key

institutions in the ways US officials deemed effective, those officials attempted to recast the Dominican nation as a modern democracy compatible with US political and economic interests. Secondly, US officials sought to use Dominican schools to teach future citizens the skills they considered necessary for maintaining a self-sustaining democracy. Schools were chosen as the ideal vehicle to reach the majority of the population, since they provided the most efficient way to instill these ideas in future generations.

Traditionally, studies of education and US occupations frame the US as a disinterested party whose work in the schools of foreign nations was an apolitical undertaking aimed purely at improving the local society.[1] Over the last twenty years, however, newer scholarship has viewed US efforts more critically and re-examined the role of education in US empire-building. These scholars have examined US efforts to teach forms of democracy compatible with US interests in an expanding US empire.[2] My research builds on this scholarship by focusing primarily on US officials who crafted the educational interventions during the occupation.

US-Dominican Relations prior to the 1916 Occupation

While the 1916 US occupation marked the first time US officials had set up a military government in the Dominican Republic, it was just the latest manifestation of an already intimate

[1] In the context of the Dominican Republic, Marlin Clausner's study is a good example. See Marlin D. Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo: Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973).
[2] Most relevant to this study is Robin Derby's research on civic education during the 1916 occupation of the Dominican Republic. In her work, she argues that US officials were "engaging in a project of civic training for democracy." See Robin Lauren Derby, "The Magic of Modernity: Dictatorship and Civic Culture in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1962," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998), 27; Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Jose-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898–1908* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); Juan Alfonseca, "El imperialismo norteamericano y las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural," *Revista Brasileira do Caribe* 14, no. 28 (2014): 371–400.

relationship between the US and its Caribbean neighbor.[3] Dating back to the nineteenth century, Dominican leaders had worked alongside the US government to increase financial and political ties between the two countries. In the late 1860s, Dominican President Buenaventura Báez negotiated an agreement with US President Ulysses S. Grant to annex the Dominican Republic, including the Samaná peninsula, as a way to expand the US's economic and military presence in the Caribbean.[4] After secret negotiations and a treaty, the deal fell through because of pushback in the US Senate, where politicians were uncomfortable acquiring a country populated with African descendants.[5]

Under the dictatorship of Ulises Heureaux (also known as Lilís) (1886–1899), the relationship between the two countries deepened as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Lilís believed the Dominican Republic would modernize through economic development, and he sought to transition the Dominican economy from traditional subsistence farming to commercial exports by encouraging foreign investment in the sugar and coffee industries. Lilís also introduced projects that would develop the country's infrastructure and foster financial growth, which included the building of the Central Dominican Railroad. Ironically, however, Lilís' numerous modernization projects were financed through foreign loans, which exponentially

[3] The United States military would occupy the Dominican Republic for the second time in 1965. See Abraham F. Lowenthal's *The Dominican Intervention* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) for a description of the second occupation and its impact on Dominican society.

[4] Ginetta E. B. Candelario, *Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 45; Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (New Rochelle: Hispaniola Books, 1995), 226–231; Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019), 78.

[5] Not all political leaders in the US were opposed to annexation. Frederick Douglass was part of the US delegation sent by US President Grant to evaluate whether the island of Hispaniola, shared between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was suitable for US annexation. See Gerald Horne, *Confronting Black Jacobins: The US, the Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015), 288. While some African Americans vehemently disagreed with the US's expansionist policy, others participated because they perceived the imperialist project as an opportunity to improve their standing and defend their masculinity during the Jim Crow era. See Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 51-75.

increased Dominican debt. Over the course of his administration, Lilís also formalized the economic relationship between the Dominican Republic and the US by negotiating a reciprocity treaty, which made the United States the Dominican Republic's main trading partner. Like Báez before him, Lilís knew the US government was interested in acquiring Samaná as a US naval base in the Caribbean and attempted to negotiate a lease for the peninsula.[6]

As the US financial investments increased in the years preceding the occupation, US interventions in Dominican politics grew more frequent and pervasive. In 1904, like previous Dominican leaders, President Carlos Morales called on US President Theodore Roosevelt to formalize a protectorate over the Dominican Republic. Morales was partial to an agreement with the US government because, a month prior to the negotiations, the US Navy had come to the Dominican Republic to quell his growing opposition. As part of the negotiations, the Dominican government once again offered to lease Samaná to the US.

Unlike prior instances, the US was no longer interested in the formal annexation of the Dominican Republic. By the start of the twentieth century, the US possessed Puerto Rico and had a significant influence in Cuba as a result of the Spanish-Cuban-American War in 1898. However, because of growing US investment in Dominican sugar plantations, the country's proximity to the Panama Canal, and its central location in the Caribbean, the US government still believed that maintaining friendly relations with the Dominican Republic was important for its strategy in the region. Since the Dominican Republic owed considerable loans to Germany and

[6] Luis F. Mejía, *De Lilís a Trujillo* (Santo Domingo: Sociedad Dominicana de Bibliófilos, 2003); Robin Lauren Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 16. For more information about the major projects instituted by the dictator Lilís and how their financial agreement with the San Domingo Improvement Company (which allowed them to control customs receipts) exacerbated the existing economic difficulties, see Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic*, 270–278.

Great Britain, US officials worried that the outstanding debt would allow a European power to institute a military occupation. [7]

Instead of a formalized protectorate, both presidents eventually settled on an agreement whereby US banks and a US corporation called the San Domingo Improvement Company (SDIC) would take over and consolidate Dominican loans from European creditors. While it would later be termed "dollar diplomacy," the financial arrangement allowed US economic institutions to absorb the bulk of the Dominican debt.[8] In return, the deal allowed the Dominican government to receive more income from customs receivership than it had previously.

Roosevelt formalized the arrangement two years later with Morales' successor, Ramón Cáceres, in the Dominican-American convention and treaty.[9] The treaty gave the US government direct control over the Dominican Republic's customs houses by allowing it to appoint a permanent official to oversee the collection of tariffs. By doing so, the treaty essentially granted the US supreme authority over the Dominican economy, permitting it to regulate the Dominican Republic's principal source of revenue. It also prevented the Dominican Republic from seeking loans from other countries. Along with economic control, the treaty granted the US government the power to enforce the terms of the agreement militarily, thus giving the US unprecedented

[7] Cyrus Veeser, *A World Safe for Capitalism: Dollar Diplomacy and America's Rise to Global Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 43; Ellen D. Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and Resistance in the Dominican Republic* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 28; Bruce J. Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the US Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 3–5.
[8] For more information on dollar diplomacy in the Dominican Republic prior to the occupation, see Veeser, *World Safe for Capitalism* and Peter James Hudson, *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). For its impact during the occupation, see Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force*.
[9] J. Avelino Guzmán V., *Ocupación militar norteamericana, 1916–1924: Aspecto jurídico de la convención domínico-americana de 1907* (Santiago: Editora Teófilo, 1999).

control over Dominican affairs. As a result, the policy became significant for both its economic and political effects. [10]

A 1904 issue of the US publication *Judge* caricatures the quasi-financial agreement under which the US assumed the role of the unofficial "protector" of the Dominican Republic. President Roosevelt was depicted pointing the barrel of a gun labeled "Monroe Doctrine" and leading a fleet of US Naval boats to defend the Dominican Republic from European aggressors. In ironic contrast to the image, the quote from Roosevelt at the bottom of the cartoon ("This in reality entails no new obligation upon us, for the Monroe Doctrine means precisely such a guarantee on our part") reflects the US's attempts to mask the escalation caused by the arrangement. Even as Roosevelt conveyed dollar diplomacy as a non-invasive, restrained economic policy, Louis Dalrymple captured the violent realities of the agreement.

An obviously racialized portrayal, the cartoon also sheds light on how racial differences between the various countries was rendered for US audiences. Both countries are portrayed as powerful white men: Great Britain is dressed in full regalia, while the US aims a cannon. This is stark contrast to the portrayal of the Dominican Republic as a child-like, helpless, darker-skinned rural peasant. The choice of skin tone for the Dominican Republic also serves to signal the country's "otherness" by representing the country as markedly distinct from the other two nations.

[10] Veeser, *A World Safe for Capitalism*, 6–7.

Figure 3.1: Louis Dalrymple, "Hands off!" *Judge,* 1904.

As represented by the political cartoon, President Roosevelt used his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and dollar diplomacy to preserve US dominance over Latin America and the Caribbean.[11] With dollar diplomacy, the US government claimed it could swap "dollars for bullets." It would address political turnover and civil unrest through more direct control of the Dominican economy. Yet, as Dalrymple presents, the policy induced the opposite effect in practice, effectively allowing US forces to occupy the Dominican Republic as it deemed necessary. In fact, US officials successfully instituted the 1916 military occupation using the 1907 agreement as justification.

By the early twentieth century, officials in Washington were concerned about the outbreak of a world war in Europe and the ongoing civil war in the Dominican Republic, which had been instigated by the assassination of President Ramón Cáceres in 1911.[12] Their fears about an occupation by enemy forces grew as the war in Europe extended. Along with top Naval officials arguing for the deployment of troops for geopolitical reasons, US investors also petitioned the government to send marines to the Dominican Republic to generate stability and protect economic investments in sugar and coffee. By the end of 1914, US President Woodrow Wilson issued a plan that attempted to do both things: mediate a stabilizing truce between the competing political factions, on the one hand, while also threating to deploy marines to reinforce US dominance in the region, on the other. This threat to intervene was unsurprising and was in

[11] The Monroe Doctrine (1823) was a US foreign policy established by President James Monroe that sought to limit European influence in the western hemisphere, including the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In this policy, Monroe stipulated that the US would not interfere in conflicts between European powers nor with their existing colonies. In return, European nations could not establish new direct European colonization or influence in the western hemisphere. If they did, the US would be forced to intervene. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe doctrine (1904) was an amendment to the policy created by Theodore Roosevelt. It established the right of the US to interfere in the national affairs of Latin American countries. Roosevelt argued that the ability to exercise control in Latin American countries would help the US to prevent potential threats from European adversaries.

[12] In 1912, US President William H. Taft sent US Marines and threatened military intervention after Dominican President Ramón Cáceres' assassination. See Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force*, 58.

fact a continuation of the increasingly interventionist foreign policy in the Dominican Republic that had been championed by previous US administrations.

The Wilson Plan, as it was named, called for the election of a new provisional president and the establishment of open and fair elections, both supervised by US officials. In 1914, the plan succeeded in selecting a new Dominican president, President Juan Isidro Jimenes, but Wilson's demands for the appointment of US officials to positions in the Dominican government rekindled discontent within the Dominican congress. Although Jimenes was open to the stipulations, the Dominican congress flatly rejected them and even called to impeach the newly elected president. In response, Wilson once again threatened a military occupation, this time to prevent any attempts to unseat the new Dominican president.[13] By the spring of 1916, the situation had escalated to the point that Wilson ordered the US Marines to occupy the Dominican Republic, hoping that this intervention would result in a political environment favorable to US economic and political interests. Despite protests from the Dominican congress and Jimenes' request for weapons rather than troops, US Marines landed on the southeastern coast of the Dominican Republic in May 1916. While the US had threatened to invade various times before, this was the first time it had attempted to institute a military government.

Dominican soldiers initially resisted US forces, but they were easily outnumbered and overpowered, and many of them negotiated their surrender within the first few weeks. Dominican officers, led by the Minister of War General Desiderio Arias, were the last of the troops to elude capture by fighting primarily in the Dominican countryside. US troops also faced widespread peasant resistance in rural areas throughout the country. They faced opposition in the north from the *Línea Noroeste*, in the west from fighters led by Afro-religious leader Olivorio

[13] Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force*, 62–71; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 6–7.

Mateo, and in the east from *gavilleros*, guerilla insurgents in the part of the Dominican Republic. The latter group succeeded in resisting US forces until they withdrew in 1922.[14]

When the capital was seized on May 15, 1916, many Dominicans living in Santo Domingo peacefully protested by closing their doors, shuttering their windows, and draping black crepe over Dominican flags. The city was also conspicuously silent, with traffic suspended and plazas and other public spaces unusually vacant. Protests against the occupation continued through the periodicals and books, in what historian Bruce Calder has referred to as a "war of the words."[15] Intellectuals such as Francisco y Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, Max Henríquez Ureña, Américo Lugo, Félix Evaristo Mejía, and Fabio Fiallo, among others, critiqued former Dominican President Jimenes for forfeiting Dominican sovereignty.[16] They wrote feverishly about the right of the Dominican people to self-govern and attempted to pressure the US military to withdraw from the country. While not yet a coordinated nationalist movement, these intellectuals individually critiqued foreign interference in what they considered to be national affairs.

The Dominican government remained in the hands of Dominicans until November 29, 1916, when US Navy Captain Harry S. Knapp issued a proclamation establishing a US military government. By that point, Jimenes had resigned, and the US government refused to recognize the provisional president elected by the congress, Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal. Soon after

[14] María Filomena González, *Línea Noroeste: Testimonio del patriotismo olvidado* (San Pedro de Macorís: Universidad Central del Este, 1985); There is a rich debate in the historiography about whether we should consider the gavilleros bandits, nationalists, peasants fighting against the growing sugar industry or simply as anti-imperialists trying to maintain local autonomy. See Julie Franks, "The Gavilleros of the East: Social Banditry as Political Practice in the Dominican Sugar Region, 1900–1924," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8, no. 2 (1995): 158–81 and Félix Servio Ducoudray, *Los "gavilleros" del este: Una epopeya calumniada* (Santo Domingo: Editora de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, 1976) for two perspectives on this controversy.
[15] Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 12–13.
[16] Isabel de León Olivares, *Defender la nación: Intelectuales dominicanos frente a la primera intervención estadounidense, 1916–1924* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2019), 95–103.

delivering the proclamation, Knapp, by now the acting Military Governor, issued executive orders that censored the press, free speech, and radio broadcasts, quieting much of the intellectual protest within the country. He also issued other orders disarming Dominican troops and civilians. Days after the proclamation, Knapp suspended the Dominican congress and effectively consolidated US control of both the executive and judicial branches. While Knapp filled the highest cabinet positions in the government with US officials, he kept most of the Dominicans as local government officials and administrators.

During the first few weeks of the occupation, US military officials did not institute their projects in education. Rather, they focused their efforts on what they deemed to be more pressing issues, such as establishing control and legitimacy over a populace that did not approve of their presence. However, by the start of 1917, US officials began initiatives they believed would "uplift" the Dominican Republic and modernize its citizens, in an effort to ensure long-term political stability. Because the 1916 occupation took place while the US was becoming increasingly involved in World War I, officials in Washington were more concerned with the war raging in Europe than with the details of the US intervention in the Dominican Republic. They left the administration of the military government and the implementation of their reforms to the US Navy and Marines.

While the US military government sought to establish a "self-sustaining democracy" by reforming Dominican institutions and society, it did not have a detailed strategy for doing so.[17] But, even with the lack of guidance from Washington and the absence of a clearly articulated plan for the Dominican Republic, the military government still maintained a considerable amount of influence over Dominican political and economic institutions. Since the US did not

[17] Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 1.

sign a treaty with the Dominican government, it held unprecedented control over executive and financial decisions in the country. As Ellen Tillman has argued, this power and flexibility allowed the military government to use the occupation to "experiment" with importing US institutions to the Dominican Republic.[18] As a result, the US military engaged in reforms that spanned Dominican institutions, such as building schools and roads, launching programs that emphasized health and hygiene, land, and tax reforms, and founding a US-trained national police force. Education was central to all US reforms because US officials believed that by teaching Dominicans to think and act in the ways they deemed appropriate, US officials could establish long-term stability in the Dominican Republic.

Education and the US Occupation

Although education was integral to the 1916 occupation, US officials were more interested in transforming Dominicans through education than in providing them with effective schooling during the occupation. Military Governor Knapp (1916–1918) and Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction Rufus H. Lane (1916–1920) identified schools as central to the occupation because they effectively achieved the primary goal of educating Dominicans on US notions of democracy, citizenship, and capitalism. [19] In addition to imparting skills related to literacy and mathematics, education would provide Dominicans with the tools to become active members of their society. In a letter to Knapp, Lane explained that "the schools cannot furnish the education necessary, but they can open the minds of the people to the world's knowledge by teaching them

[18] Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force*, 1–2.
[19] US Navy Captain Harry S. Knapp was the first governor of the US military government in the Dominican Republic. He governed the Dominican Republic from 1916–1918 and served additionally as Military Representative of the United States to Haiti in 1920. Colonel Rufus H. Lane, originally from Connecticut, was the first to serve as Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, from 1916–1920. He was influential in promoting education as a key initiative during his time in the military government and retired soon after his term ended in 1920.

to read and write and with such knowledge, self-education will automatically follow."[20] Knapp also described the efforts in his quarterly report, noting that "Dominicans are gradually being educated into an attitude of greater self-help and less dependence upon the national government."[21] These US officials were less concerned with what was happening inside of the classrooms than with the process of exposing Dominicans to what they saw as the broad, transformative effects of education. In this way, education was fundamental to how US officials hoped to transform the relationship between Dominicans and their social, political, and economic institutions.

With their educational interventions, US officials intended to fundamentally change Dominican society and politics by shaping how Dominican citizenship was defined and expressed. In their view, Dominican citizens should actively participate in their democracy, stay well-informed, and be united by a common culture and education. Lane lamented what he viewed as the barriers keeping Dominicans from establishing an effective democracy. He found that "with inability to read and write, there can be no correct dissemination or interchange of ideas. Consequently, there can be no common public opinion."[22] Armed with universal schooling and the tutelage project, these US officials argued that, as a result of the occupation, Dominicans would have the knowledge to elect and follow intelligent leaders rather than the tyrants and oligarchs by whom they had hitherto been governed. US officials presupposed that such leaders would, of course, be US allies.

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[20] Correspondence from Department of Justice and Public Instruction to Military Governor, November 27, 1918, exp. 112, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.
[21] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, January 1, 1918–March 31, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; E-15/Box1; Military Government of Santo Domingo; Record Group (RG) 38: Chief of Naval Intelligence; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited NARA I).
[22] See Rufus H. Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor; Santo Domingo-Report O-in-C, Dept. Justice and Public Instruction," February 1, 1920 p. 2; Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to the Marine Occupation of Santo Domingo, 1916–1924; RG 127: Records of the United States Marine Corps; NARA I.

During the occupation, US officials engaged in two levels of educational interventions. In the first place, the occupation was structured as a tutelage project, whereby US officials would teach Dominicans how to properly govern themselves using a slew of reforms. US officials believed this would aid Dominicans on their path to civilization by leading through example. These officials argued that once they restructured the government and other key institutions, Dominicans could observe how US officials effectively governed the country and eventually learn to do so on their own.[23] Often termed "civilizing missions," scholars have described how imperial powers such as the United States, Great Britain, and France have embarked on these efforts to "enlighten" and "culturally uplift" what they perceived to be lesser countries and peoples.[24]

[23] Derby, "The Magic of Modernity," 26–50.
[24] Michael Adas, "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 31–63.

Figure 3.2: "Next!" *The Washington Post* January 31, 1905.

The cartoon "Next!" published in *The Washington Post* on January 31, 1905 exemplifies this perception of the US as responsible for civilizing Latin American and Caribbean countries. The cartoonist employed the scene of a barbershop and portrayed Uncle Sam as a barber to depict the role of the US as grooming and "making over" unkempt countries like the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. Similar to Dalrymple's "Hands off!" this illustrator also depicts the Dominican Republic and Venezuela as racially distinct from the US and employs straw hats and bare feet as a way to signal to US audiences that these countries are populated with brown-skinned laborers. Using this imagery, the illustrator symbolized the transformation of these Latin American countries from shoeless, dirty peasants into clean, dapper, civilized gentlemen. In doing so, the cartoonist argues that those living in Latin America and the Caribbean relied on the assistance of Uncle Sam to be "taught" to live as civilized peoples.

As the image depicts, US officials in the military government understood their role as that of facilitating the development of Latin American countries such as the Dominican Republic. Top officials in the government described it as their "solemn duty" to institute peace and prosperity during their occupation. In a memorandum to the second Military Governor of Santo Domingo, Admiral Thomas Snowden (1919–1921), the Secretary of State, Interior and Police Colonel B. H. Fuller, stated:

> When the people in general have enjoyed the benefits of peace and freedom from revolutions for several years and when the boys who have never known the dubious delights of insurrection have been educated and taught the advantages of industry, the country may, perhaps, be safely left to itself. [25]

[25] Correspondence from Department of Justice and Public Instruction to Military Governor, November 27, 1918, exp. 112, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Correspondence B. H. Fuller to Admiral Snowden, exp. 12, leg. 112, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

Because of their inherent superiority, US officials believed, they could help Dominicans confront their long-standing economic and political issues with corruption and bribery. [26] They claimed Dominicans were living "in a state of savagery" and were "unable to discern their true interests and fall easy prey to demagogues and sharpers."[27] As a result, they believed that Dominicans would remain uncivilized and suffer from political and economic instability unless US forces aided them in installing democratic institutions. US officials also understood these issues as deep-seated and feared that if the US military government failed to imbed changes into the fiber of the society, the country would "fall into chaos" upon the withdrawal of the US troops.[28]

To ensure long-lasting change, US officials believed, Dominican institutions and society would need to be completely transformed. By using the occupation as a form of education through tutelage, US officials hoped to create self-sustaining systems and teach Dominicans their own notions of democracy, which included the free exchange of ideas and open elections. However, US officials were also aware that doing so would require a long-term commitment. In the memorandum to Snowden, Fuller noted that "the lack of even rudimentary education amongst the masses of the people and the consequent facility with which any self-seeking leader is able to obtain a following in an insurrection make necessary a strong, honest government, able to preserve order." Fuller saw the Dominican Republic as reliant on US aid, noting that this would only be possible "through the assistance of a disinterested foreign country." For that reason, he declared, "in my opinion the Military Government of the United States in Santo

[26] Rufus H. Lane, "Civil Government in Santo Domingo in the Early Days of Military Occupation," *Marine Corps Gazette* 7, no. 2 (June 1922): 132; Lane, 143; This was similar to other US occupations. See Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008): 1; Erwin H. Epstein, "The Peril of Paternalism: The Imposition of Education on Cuba by the United States," *American Journal of Education* 96, no. 1 (1987): 1–23.
[27] Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 2.
[28] Correspondence from Department of Justice and Public Instruction to Military Governor, November 27, 1918, exp. 112, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

Domingo is now and will be for at least ten years longer a necessity for the peace and prosperity of this island."[29]

Central to this form of paternalistic tutelage was the assumption that Western white nations were superior to others and had, therefore, a responsibility to spread their views about civilization.[30] US officials believed that, as models of civilization, they were obliged to embark on missions to help uplift lesser, non-white countries on their path to self-government. Drawing on pseudoscientific theories, US officials alleged that Dominicans required guidance from more advanced societies in order to develop. US officials described the mixed heritage of Dominicans as "responsible for the general unreliable nature of the people."[31] In the handbook for the US Marines stationed in the Dominican Republic, officials recorded their findings of the Dominican "race," noting that "there are practically no families of pure white among the native population. The average Dominican looks like a mulatto, although shade of color in a family may vary from Black to white in appearance." In reports on the "psychologic situation in the country," officials stated, "The lower classes are very backward and are kept down by a system of peonage, and have always been ready to revolt, because of their constant ill-treatment. The Spanish group has sought to accentuate the Spanish tradition and keep it unchanged."[32] US officials claimed that as a population, Dominicans were "quiet, lazy, uneducated, and shiftless. Like any negroid race,

[29] Correspondence from Department of Justice and Public Instruction to Military Governor, November 27, 1918, exp. 112, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Correspondence B.H. Fuller to Admiral Snowden, exp. 12, leg. 112, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.
[30] The notion of the "white man's burden," originally referenced in the poem, "The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands" written by Rudyard Kipling in 1899, was invoked by expansionists in both the US and Europe to justify their encroachment into sovereign nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Grounded in racialized perceptions of the people inhabiting those continents, it argues that white, enlightened, and superior nations bear the "burden" of civilizing the non-white, underdeveloped, and unruly nations and peoples.
[31] US Marine Corps Second Brigade, "US Marine Corps Handbook of the Dominican Republic: Southern and Eastern Districts, 1922-1923," p. 78-79, Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to the Marine Occupation of Santo Domingo, 1916-1924; RG 127; NARA I.
[32] "Estimate of the Psychologic Situation," May 17, 1921, Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to the Marine Occupation of Santo Domingo, 1916–1924; RG 127; NARA I.

they are easily aroused. They follow and believe in leaders rather than in a principle or party." US officials also alleged that while the Dominican Republic had the climate to provide bountiful nutritious food, Dominicans did not "eat what they should" and had poor sanitary methods. To US officials, the European ancestry of Dominicans allowed them to have some qualities of civilized peoples, but their African lineage made them backward and required them to be uplifted.

While drawing on notions of biological inferiority linked to eugenics, US officials also engaged with other theories circulating in the US to fashion their claims. [33] With the strictly biological view, races designated as inferior were lesser and there was no way of changing this. In the neo-Lamarckian interpretation however, the lesser races could be uplifted if environmental conditions were altered. US officials described these stages of development using terms associated with human maturation. They argued that while blood may provide a template for the abilities of a race, populations could be shaped by their environment, whether positively or negatively. Drawing on this logic, racial differences could be explained by the traits developed and nurtured within a particular environment and then subsequently passed down.

With that reasoning, US officials argued that by changing the conditions in the Dominican Republic, they could improve the entire country and impact future generations. In his quarterly report, Knapp noted, "I got the impression that the Dominicans can easily be led in the matters of improvement and betterment of conditions; but they greatly lack initiative as people, and their dependence on American advice is often almost childish."[34] Because US

[33] By the turn of the century, scientists and scholars began interpreting race in biological terms. While Darwinism attributed evolution to the survival of the "superior" race, neo-Lamarckianism also argued that cultural traits and behaviors could be inherited. In light of this view, social evolutionists argued that although undesirable behaviors could be inherited, they also could be improved through a change in the environment. See Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 23–24; Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning*, 28.

[34] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1918 to March 31, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I.

officials claimed the "mentality," or mental capacity, of Dominicans was low by US standards, they positioned themselves as the guardians of children who did not yet have the capabilities to recognize their needs. US officials saw themselves as uniquely equipped to initiate modernizing changes in the Dominican Republic. Through tutelage and political education, citizens who were once child-like could eventually be nurtured into "adulthood" and allowed to self-govern. Dominicans had the potential to be uplifted through education and tutelage; but whether they would choose to do so was still up for debate. In his report on public instruction, Lane remarked, "whether these people can be assimilated the knowledge when it comes to them, and acquire a true education, remains to be seen."[35]

The March 8, 1905 issue of *Puck* magazine published a political cartoon entitled, "Trouble Ahead for the Trainer," which provides a stark example of how US racial logic was applied to Dominicans.[36] The image represents how US officials, during the Roosevelt administration, believed they could "tame" economic and political interests as well as "train" foreign populations in the years leading up to the 1916 US occupation. However, the cartoon is also useful in illustrating the importance of race in determining how Americans perceived the relationship between the US and Dominican Republic. In depicting the Dominican Republic using racist stereotypes, such as enlarged lips, pointed ears, and an oblong-shaped head, the cartoon exposes how US officials racialized Dominicans in order to justify their attempts to control them. The person in yellow labeled "San Domingo" is depicted as an animalistic figure with an ambiguous foreign race. Although restrained by ropes, his happy demeanor connotes that

[35] Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 2.
[36] The illustrator J. S. Pughe uses a circus ring to depict the challenges faced by US President Theodore Roosevelt in controlling various US interests both within the mainland and overseas. The cartoon represents how, one week into the new administration, the President was already facing issues related to reforming political and economic policies, as well as confronting questions that concerned how to approach US occupation in the Philippines, dollar diplomacy in the Dominican Republic, and the construction of the Panama Canal.

he is comfortable with his confinement. This portrayal of the Dominican Republic emphasized the country's less-than-human status and contrasted it with Roosevelt's unequivocal whiteness and humanity.

Figure 3.3: J. S. Pughe, "Trouble Ahead for the Trainer," *Puck*, March 8, 1905. N.Y.: J. Ottmann Lith. Co., Puck Bldg. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2011645682/

This highly racialized caricature of the Dominican Republic as a constrained "mulatto" male with exaggerated features was a similar to other images meant to demean and delegitimize the culture and society of Afro-descendants. [37] If we consider the representations of the

[37] This type of imagery is linked to minstrelsy and other racialized depictions of African Americans both within the US and across the broader African diaspora. For more information, see Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy: A Century of Race, Gender, and Southern Memory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008) and Chinua Thelwell, *Exporting Jim Crow: Blackface Minstrelsy in South Africa and Beyond* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020).

Dominican Republic in the context of US foreign policy, US officials positioned themselves as benevolent global leaders who had the right and duty to uplift lesser nations. US officials posited an immense gap between the two nations, characterizing Dominicans as lesser because of their race and class and dismissing them as "mulatto peasants." US officials then used this perception to legitimate their removal of Dominican sovereignty and frame their actions as not only necessary, but altruistic. They argued that Dominicans relied on their generosity to modernize, since without US aid Dominicans would continue to languish in their regressive state.[38] As benevolent teachers, US officials would create the structures necessary for Dominican prosperity by reshaping key institutions.

US officials presumed they had the authority and obligation to reform existing Dominican institutions to establish a new and, in their view, superior system of governance. However, this was not the US military's first attempt with this type of endeavor. By 1916, the US had occupied, created military governments, and restructured systems in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba. [39] In drawing connections with these earlier occupations, Knapp wrote: "I

[38] García-Peña explains how the "civilizing mission" by US forces extended beyond the schools and functioned as a rationale for their torture of Dominicans, particularly those who embraced their African lineage and held Afro-religious practices. See García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad*, 73–77.

[39] As part of the victory against Spain in 1898, the United States government acquired new territories in the Caribbean and Pacific, which included Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Out of the three recently acquired lands, the United States' relationship to Puerto Rico is distinct in one key aspect: the US government's interest in permanently acquiring the island and its intention of extending citizenship to islanders. This factor was important because it shaped how much time and resources US officials invested in attempting to mold Puerto Ricans into ersatz Americans. For the first thirty years, US officials in Puerto Rico persisted in introducing and implementing education policies that they hoped would create students similar to those on the mainland. In their desire to create potential US citizens, US officials banned the Spanish language and instituted English-only policies, recruited teachers from the United States, and even transferred students to US institutions like the Carlisle Boarding School and Tuskegee Institute. Unlike Puerto Rico, Cuba from the beginning was guaranteed independence through the Teller Amendment, which stipulated that US control of the island was only temporary. Nevertheless, this did not prevent US officials from instituting similar reforms to those in Puerto Rico, just for shorter amounts of time (originally from 1898 to1902 and again from 1906 to 1909). In fact, US officials also implemented an English-only language policy, imported textbooks from the United States, and expanded primary education. Interested in improving teacher training, US officials recruited teachers to attend Harvard University during their summer vacations as another way to acculturate them to US customs and educational practices. In the Philippines between 1898 and 1946, US officials instituted many of the same changes implemented in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Along with establishing a centralized education system, the military government also instituted compulsory school laws, erected

am convinced that here, as has proved to be the case in Porto Rico, the Philippines and Cuba, the solution to the problem of good government will be found in the better education of the people."[40] Many of the reforms aimed at the other countries emphasized US hostility towards Spanish colonial legacies, juxtaposing the antiquated-ness of colonial-era institutions with the modernism of US reforms. In restructuring existing institutions, US military officials' own assumptions about democracy and citizenship were reinforced in the course of asserting the US's right to export those ideas to other countries.

In this way, the US government used educational interventions to further US hegemony to attempt to change citizens and societies to reflect US assumptions and interests. Historians have thoroughly documented how, around the turn of the century, the US shifted its foreign policy toward exporting culture and civilization, often conceiving of it as a form of imperialism.[41] Scholars have outlined how the US government targeted the Caribbean as a space to form potential US allies because of its proximity to the newly constructed Panama Canal.[42] In the Dominican Republic, in keeping with their other occupations in the region, US officials sought to disseminate their views—based on the US's own geopolitical interests—about how society should be structured politically, economically, and socially.

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school buildings, banned religious instruction, and restructured primary education. But what is most notable about the case of the Philippines is the emphasis on agricultural and industrial education. While the other reforms are mentioned in their descriptions, the literature highlights this curricular change as the most significant reform, differing from the more liberal arts emphasis in Cuba and Puerto Rico. For Puerto Rico, see del Moral, *Negotiating Empire* and Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees*; for Cuba see Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012); for the Philippines see Elisabeth M. Eittreim, *Teaching Empire: Native Americans, Filipinos, and US Imperial Education, 1879–1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019) and Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900–1913* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1984).

[40] "Annual Report of the Military Government of Santo Domingo, from date of Proclamation November 29, 1916 to June 30, 1917," pg. 12; WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45: Records of the Naval Library-War Situation; NARA I.

[41] Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

[42] See del Moral, *Negotiating Empire* and Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees*.

To ensure these changes would remain in place after their withdrawal, US officials engaged in a second educational intervention: reforming Dominican schools. In his quarterly report, Knapp expressed his belief that the "industrial, moral and political salvation of this country" depended upon reforming this key institution. Lane declared the reforms "a special and vital necessity" since, he argued, schools would be foundational to the military government's plan to transform the Dominican Republic.[43] US officials contended that widespread basic literacy, along with accessible and communal public schools, were necessary components for a functional democracy. Lane argued that education was a fundamental part of the US military government's goals to modernize the Dominican Republic, stating that "it is possible that with education and enlightenment, a secure foundation for a self-sustaining government may be laid." Without proper schools, US officials claimed, democracy would inevitably fail, and Dominicans would never experience a genuinely "free exchange of ideas or shared public opinion," nor understand the true meaning of patriotism and national pride. The view that schools were vital to the occupation was not limited to the highest ranks of government, but widely diffuse amongst US troops. The handbook for the US Marines claimed the changes in the school system would "do more than any one thing to place the Dominican Government among the truly sovereign nations of the world."[44]

US officials targeted schools because they were an effective way to reach the majority of the Dominican population and efficiently implant ideas about democracy, productivity, and self-reliance, in future generations. Knapp argued that "no culture, idealism, or even patriotism of

[43] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1919 to March 31, 1919," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I; Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 5.
[44] US Marine Corps Second Brigade, "US Marine Corps Handbook of the Dominican Republic," 78–80; It is also emphasized in the publications on the occupation that were distributed more widely. See United States Military Government of Santo Domingo, *Santo Domingo: Its Past and Its Present Condition* (Santo Domingo, 1920).

enlightened self-interest can be inculcated without a means for the general dissemination of ideas."[45] In their view, public schools would provide the skills necessary to maintain a healthy democracy. Schools would be "common" and mandatory among all citizens and available to the masses, so that all Dominicans would have an equal opportunity to learn the same set of skills. Additionally, schools were tasked with teaching students the basic rights and responsibilities of citizenship, as well as cultivating the skills required for participation in the public sphere.

US officials also selected schools because of its own citizens' prevailing beliefs, during this period, about the value of public education and the crucial role of schools in reforming society. These officers, like other top US government officials since the mid-nineteenth century, had embraced the notion that "common schools" were fundamental to maintaining a republican form of government and believed in the relationship between freedom, self-government, and universal education.[46] Moreover, US officials shared the view that reforms in society were best achieved through the school system, where education would act as the chief force in societal reform.[47]

And while the stated goals for the education reforms were to reduce illiteracy and establish a centralized national school system, US officials were less interested in schooling actual Dominican pupils than they were in the broader notion of education as a tool for shaping Dominican society. Lane understood that skills acquired in the classroom were limited and

[45] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, January 1, 1919–March 31, 1919," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I.
[46] US reformers such as Horace Mann, who served as the Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education in the 1830s–1840s, led efforts to establish "common schools" throughout the northeast. Their notion of universal schooling was founded in republicanism, Protestantism, and capitalism. These beliefs were intertwined with and mutually reinforced one another. See Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).
[47] During this period, schools were increasingly being used to address issues in US society. See Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

expressed his desire for modernizing Dominicans through education. In his report, Lane argued that "knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic is not education, but such knowledge is a window to the mind, which must without it remain in darkness. This knowledge makes real education possible by opening a way for the reception of the knowledge and ideas of the rest of mankind."[48] US officials hoped to use schools to expand the minds of Dominicans and provide them with the skills they needed to participate meaningfully in a democracy. Access to schools would inspire a desire for knowledge within Dominicans and develop an educated populace, thereby laying the foundations for a stable democratic form of government.

In order to succeed, US officials argued, this project of uplift would need to implement drastic changes to the structure of the Dominican school system. US officials believed that the current system was disorganized, insufficient, antiquated, and a drain on the national and local economy—not to mention a dangerous source of misinformation. Even after the reforms led by Eugenio María de Hostos and the issuance of the latest code of education, illiteracy and low school enrollment remained prominent problems with the majority of the country, estimating that ninety percent of the population was unable to read or write.[49] US officials also deemed the state-based system inadequate because it was not shared by all Dominicans; many elite and middle-class families educated their children in private schools, in their own houses, or in the homes of private teachers.[50] Lane alleged that less than ten percent of the school-age population was

[48] Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 2.
[49] By the early 1900s, the Dominican Republic had already experienced changes to the structure and aims of its education system. Late-nineteenth-century education reformers, most notably Eugenio María de Hostos, had worked to institute a nationalized, state-regulated education system. By 1883, Hostos' reforms led to the establishment of 101 schools for boys and 74 schools for girls, educating over 6,500 registered students. Along with building public schools, the education reformer succeeded in establishing normal institutes in the two principal cities, Santo Domingo and Santiago, as well as pushing forth a more nationalistic and civic-minded curriculum.
[50] Alfonseca, "Escolarización y minorías étnicas en la República Dominicana, 1918–1944," 22; José Luis Sáez, *Autoridad para educar: Historia de la escuela católica dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2008), 65–71.

enrolled in schools—and those that were did not attend them regularly.[51] He saw public schools as few and insufficient, since they were often concentrated in urban centers and sparsely scattered across rural areas. Lane believed the high levels of illiteracy and the shortcomings of the current school system fostered a "condition of ignorance" that stifled the country's intellectual, social, and economic development.[52] Lane described the existing code as "a pompous collection of insane provisions" and challenged the quality of instruction. In his view, schools existed without the mechanisms to verify their effectiveness and, in their current capacity, served only to benefit the elite classes, thereby perpetuating the issues of corruption and elitism that afflicted the Dominican Republic.

Since US officials considered the nation's high illiteracy rates and decentralized system serious obstacles to their efforts, they insisted on completely restructuring the institution. US officials declared their plans to establish an efficient, centralized, and universal school system that was adapted to the perceived needs of the Dominican population. Governor Knapp claimed that Dominican schools should be "suited to their development" and should address the deficiencies of the country. Because US officials understood the most critical issue was raising literacy levels and expanding the minds of those in rural communities, they advocated redirecting resources and personnel to establishing primary schools in those areas. US officials perceived the previous system as favoring a secondary education based on a comprehensive liberal arts curriculum over an elementary-school education that privileged rudimentary literacy and mathematics. They characterized the system as elitist and claimed its reach and benefits were

[51] These are statistics that are often referred to in texts from the military government. See United States Military, *Santo Domingo,* 31–37; Lane, "Civil Government in Santo Domingo in the Early Days of Military Occupation"; Secondary sources have also used these numbers such as Calder, *The Impact of Intervention,* 34; José L. Vásquez Romero, *La Intervención de 1916 vencidos y vencedores: Un análisis sobre el gobierno militar Estadounidense en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Impresora Candy, 2003), 139–140.
[52] Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 1–2.

limited to the children of the upper classes, who would be pursuing professions rather than working as manual laborers.[53] As a result, US officials believed they would have to restructure the mission, funding incentives, and staffing of Dominican schools in order to increase the number of schools in rural areas. In doing so, they would ensure that primary education was universally accessible.

A concern with universal access, however, was not synonymous with careful attention to the details of a comprehensive school reform, the implementation of curricular changes, or the strict enforcement of the new legislation. Instead, US officials just propagated the notion that education and universal access to schools were necessary to Dominican society's progress toward civilization. Since US officials sought to convince Dominicans that education was vital to the endurance of democracy, their policy placed special emphasis on expanding schools' reach to Dominicans living in the countryside, rather than on changing existing pedagogy or practice within those schools.[54] US officials left the particulars of the curricular reforms and education policy to their Dominican collaborators.

On January 19, 1917, just under two months after the military government was instituted, Governor Knapp commissioned a group of Dominican elites to study the issues in public instruction and create a report suggesting avenues for reform. The commission was spearheaded by former Dominican President, Archbishop Adolfo Alejandro Nouel, whom Knapp referred to as one of the "firmest friends of the United States in the country."[55] The rest of the committee

[53] Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Chief of Naval Operations, October 8, 1917, WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I; Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 6–8; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from July 1, 1917 to September 30, 1917," WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[54] This may also be partially attributed to the fact that this policy was designed and implemented by the military, rather than by educators or philosophers interested in the ideas circulating within schools.

[55] Letters to Military Governor Knapp from Dominican elites responding to request to serve, January 1917, exp. 1, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; "Annual Report of the Military Government of Santo

was comprised of prominent lawyers and politicians selected by the Military Governor, whom he trusted to provide reforms that aligned with the military government's vision for the Dominican Republic. The commission evaluated the status of the system throughout the country and presented their findings in a report to the military government later that year.

As part of its effort to incorporate the recommendations from the Dominican commission, the US military government instituted a new code of education starting on October 1, 1917. The code consisted of seven laws that US officials hoped would lay the foundation for a cohesive, "efficient and productive" school system.[56] These laws mandated school attendance for children between seven and fourteen years of age, regulated school instruction from the primary to university level, determined school funding, banned religious education, and set Spanish as the language of instruction.[57] With the new education code, US officials sought to centralize and secularize public schools, increase the number of schools in rural communities, and standardize the curriculum. As part of the consolidation process, the US military government worked toward making schools more efficient by reorganizing the system and dividing the country into regions. It hoped to increase supervision and accountability by bureaucratizing the school system and creating a hierarchy of administrative positions. To fund these reforms, US officials suppressed secondary schools and channeled resources toward primary schools and the institution's administration.

Domingo, from date of Proclamation November 29, 1916 to June 30, 1917," pg. 12, WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[56] Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 3–6; Juan Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum in the Feminization of Teaching in the Dominican Republic, 1860–1935," in *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession* eds. Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Román (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 226–227; Juan Alfonseca, "El imperialismo norteamericano y las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural," *Revista Brasileira do Caribe* 14, no. 28 (2014): 386; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 34–40; Francisco Chapman, "Illiteracy and Educational Development in the Dominican Republic: A Historical Approach," (Ed.D. diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1987), 67–71.

[57] This distinguished the Dominican Republic from Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other US occupations that mandated English language instruction. See Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor."

While these policies were instituted and publicized by the US military government throughout the occupation, these new laws were not drastically different from earlier, Dominican-led efforts.[58] In the decades after Hostos' initial reforms, the Dominican government continued its attempts to restructure the education system by establishing a series of laws designed to consolidate the still largely regionalized institution. Immediately prior to the occupation, the *Código orgánico y reglamentario de educación común* (the organic and regulatory code of common education) was put forth by the National Service of Public Instruction during the provisional government that followed the assassination of Ramón Cáceres in 1911. In fact, the 1912 educational law issued by the Department of Public Instruction was a similar attempt by the Dominican government to establish a secular, nationalized public school system, institute a compulsory school law, and nationalize the curriculum.

Dominican government officials at the time also believed the school system was antiquated and in need of renovation. Members of the commission declared that "the law that up until now has governed us is absolutely inefficient and outdated."[59] Like the 1918 education law, the 1912 code aimed to centralize the education system and create a hierarchy that clearly articulated the different positions within the institution. It established compulsory schooling for children ages seven to thirteen and laid out the consequences for failure to comply, which ranged from fines to imprisonment and would be enforced by school police. In terms of curriculum, the educational code described a unified graded course plan, required Spanish instruction in schools, and mandated civic and moral instruction as well. It described various extracurricular activities, from school trips to the development of school libraries to the annual celebration of the *día de la*

[58] See Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum in the Feminization of Teaching in the Dominican Republic, 1860–1935." I am also drawing on conversations with Neici Zeller about her research on the topic and period.
[59] "La Ley que hasta ahora nos rige es absolutamente insuficiente y anárquica," from *Código orgánico y reglamentario de educación común* (Santo Domingo: Imprenta La Cuna de América, 1915), 328.

escuela (the day of the school), a civic event to be observed on the anniversary Dominican independence. [60]

Beyond revealing similarities in policy, the resemblances in the education laws indicate a broader overlap in values around the school system. Like US officials, many Dominicans believed schools should foster patriotism and unify the country's increasingly diverse population. They also agreed that schools should advance modernity by developing a hardworking, productive citizenry that would be the basis of the new nation.[61] Due to these converging values, US officials made deliberate decisions to enlist Dominicans in their process, inviting Dominican elites to join the commission and employing Dominicans as school officials and education administrators. In his quarterly report, Knapp described his deliberation over whether or not to replace the Dominican currently surviving as the chief administrator of public schools with an educator from the US. In the end, he noted, "I would prefer to see it done by a Dominican rather than an American." [62] Knapp argued that employing an American as an advisor was preferable to

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[60] In comparing the two laws, the general sense is that they were overwhelmingly similar, which is quite interesting because the argument made by US officials hinged on the fact that they were completely renovating the existing system. Alongside their parallel efforts to make schools compulsory and establish an education bureaucracy, the language of the codes also emphasizes the role of the public school in developing the morals and teaching the duties of citizenship. The biggest differences between the two is that the 1912 law did not emphasize rural and rudimentary instruction, as the new law did, and it explicitly preserved the authority of guardians. It included a provision by which, if a parent or guardian found that their child was not making progress after a few years, the parent could step in as instructor until another instructor is found and also included a stipulation for *asambleas de padres* (parent assemblies), where parent participation in the child's education was actively encouraged. However, the impact of the 1912 education code was limited. While this state-based education system would have provided basic literacy and taught fundamental mathematics to the majority of Dominican citizens, most members of the school-age population were not enrolled in public schools, either because they did not attend schools generally or because they attended schools outside the public system. Moreover, the Dominican state at the time was weak from continuous civil wars and mounting foreign debt, so it struggled to enforce the compulsory school law and other measures of the new legislation, effectively stifling the effectiveness of the new law. Therefore, even as it attempted to create an expanded national education bureaucracy, it failed to do so because of the state's limitations.

[61] "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 271–278.

[62] Along with Dominicans working in the commission and as school officials, the head of the Department of Public Instruction, Julio Ortega Frier, was also a Dominican who collaborated with US efforts. Formerly the secretary of the commission, Military Governor Knapp mentioned that Ortega Frier made a good impression at their first meeting, describing him as "a man young enough to be ambitious to make a reputation" and expressing faith in his ability to get the job done. See "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1917 to December 31, 1917," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I. Governor Knapp

having one serve as the chief official of public instruction, because he knew the system would be administered by a Dominican he could trust.

Knapp argued that—because they were already familiar with Dominican culture, Spanish language, and the methods used for instruction—Dominicans were better suited to serve as school officials. US officials also believed employing Dominicans would be more efficient and cost-effective than replacing them with Americans. As Knapp reasoned: "for the same expenditure, a result of more general application will be attained by leaving public instruction in the hands of Dominicans themselves." He noted that by doing so, it would "give the fundamentals of education to a very much greater number of pupils within the same time, with the same total cost, and in their own language and by their own methods to which they are accustomed."[63] The efficiency of having someone familiar with the culture was only an addendum to his concerns about the costs involved in transporting educators from the US and the perceived basic needs of Dominican schools.

The decision to teach in Spanish, rather than English, was also linked to a strategy that privileged collaboration with local officials.[64] More than low level participation as could be expected from actors cooperating with the reforms, US officials sought to collaborate and trust Dominican officials to craft, implement, and enforce a policy that was consistent with their visions for the Dominican Republic. Contrary to other US occupations in Latin America and

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also expressed his desire to have a Dominican fill the position and stated that he "would prefer to see it done by a Dominican rather than by an American." See letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Chief of Naval Operations, October 8, 1917, WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[63] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1918 to March 31, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I.

[64] While choosing Spanish rather than English, was more reflective of the linguistic make-up of the Dominican Republic's population, it was still a decision made by the US officials about the needs of the Dominican Republic based on its own desire to create linguistic uniformity. This choice was not necessarily a reflection of the diversity of languages represented in the country, which contained areas in which the primary language was English.

elsewhere, Knapp explicitly stated his interest in working with Dominicans, noting "that any attempt to force upon them either the English language or such methods as were, with great propriety, undertaken in the Philippines and Porto Rico, would not bear the good results that were to be hoped for from a system devised by Dominicans of high attainments for their own countrymen." The idea was that the system would be carefully "devised" and executed by the people of the country. Whereas, in past occupations, the US military governments had worked with local commissions to identify areas of reform, the decision to appoint locals to supervisory positions that would be in charge of the entire endeavor represented a distinctly new approach.[65]

US officials in the Dominican Republic themselves recognized key differences between this occupation and previous ones. Firstly, because the US occupation of the Dominican Republic coincided with the US entrance into World War I, there was a scarcity of resources and troops. Given the situation, US officials stationed in the Dominican Republic had to be strategic about how they would implement the reforms.[66] Secondly, since the goal of the occupation was not to establish the Dominican Republic as a formal US territory, US officials were not ordered to assimilate Dominican citizens to US customs or culture. Knapp noted, "I have not regarded the matter here as standing in the same light to the Military Government and to the United States Government, that it did in the Philippines and Porto Rico." He elaborated on his reasoning by remarking, "those islands came under our flag. The status of Santo Domingo is Spanish, and I have seen no reason to attempt to impose upon it the English language." [67] Knapp's reference to

[65] The US military governments in Puerto Rico and the Philippines also established commissions to review the status of the system. After confirming their perceptions about the outdated condition of the schools, US officials administered reforms such as centralizing the school system and adopting curriculum and textbooks from the United States. See del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 51 and Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, *Educating the Empire: American Teachers & the Contested Colonization in the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 15.
[66] Stephen M. Fuller and Graham A. Cosmas *Marines in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1924* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1974), 29–31.
[67] Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Chief of Naval Operations, October 8, 1917, WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

"imposing" the English language alluded to the practice, in both the mainland US and its territories, of employing schools as a way to acculturate heterogenous populations and "Americanize" groups in both the United States and the countries it governed. [68] In grooming Dominicans for self-government and facilitating their transition to independence, US officials aimed to use familiar cultural methods as a way of easing the changes.

By the summer of 1918, US officials declared the reforms a success. They asserted that "there is nothing more satisfactory to be reported than the very great improvement and quickened interested in educational matters." [69] Knapp described the desire for change as palpable throughout the country and saw this reflected in the large numbers of students enrolled in schools, as well as in higher financial allocations to education from the local governments.[70] US officials bragged about increasing attendance by nearly 200% with their successful implementation of the compulsory school law nationwide. They congratulated themselves on doubling the national expenditure on public instruction, as well as on increased contributions from both national and municipal budgets.

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[68] The umbrella term "Americanization" encompassed a wide range of reforms aimed at dealing with the challenge of maintaining a stable, unified republic in an increasingly pluralistic society. Requiring English language instruction was one of the chief methods of "Americanizing" diverse populations and was commonly used throughout the US mainland and territories. US reformers approached the Americanization efforts in three ways: anglicization, the melting pot theory, and cultural pluralism. While different, these efforts all highlighted questions about the role of immigrants in American society, who was considered American, and how American identity should be expressed. See Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 67–75. In the US mainland, government officials used schools to manage the influx of "new" Irish, German, Jewish, and Italian immigrants who came from various linguistic backgrounds and who increased religious diversity in crowded urban centers. In Puerto Rico and the Philippines, the US government had a long-term strategy to keep the countries under US governance and used the English language policy in their attempts to assimilate the citizens in both countries. Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900–1930* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1977); Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees*; May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines*; Eileen H. Tamura, and Roger Daniels. *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Jeffrey E. Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2010).

[69] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from April 1, 1918 to June 30, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I.

[70] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1918 to March 31, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I; "Construction of New Buildings, Bridges, etc., April 1–June 30, 1918," exp. 4, leg. 74, 1700235, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

Leaders of the military government also claimed that the national education system was even more centralized than the one in the United States. In their progress reports on the status of education in the Dominican Republic, officials claimed to have established 250 new rural schools, instituted an effective system of inspection within the education bureaucracy, and reorganized the country's university system. In addition to expanding and reorganizing the education system, US officials alleged that they created a "modern standard course of instruction" with standardized books and agricultural instruction in rural schools.[71] They claimed to have improved the experiences of Dominican educators by creating summer schools for teacher instruction and standardizing teachers' salaries.

With increased allocations to schools and growing enrollment rates, US officials believed the Dominican Republic was on track to eradicate illiteracy within just a few decades. Officials noted the exponential growth of schools, which had become available to half of the nation's population in just over a year.[72] However, while US officials celebrated improvements in the school system, they also believed there was still a lot that they had left to accomplish. Two of their largest proposals were to refurnish schools by importing school furniture from the US and to upgrade school sites, which were traditionally located in the homes of the teachers or in rented houses. Top officials argued that such locations were unsuitable for schools and occasioned unnecessary spending on rentals. As a result, they drew up plans to build one-room and two-room schoolhouses.

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[71] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from April 1, 1918 to June 30, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I; Rufus Lane, untitled memorandum, June 28, 1918, exp. 3, leg. 74, 1700235, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

[72] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1919 to March 31, 1919," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I. American missionaries traveling in the Dominican Republic also found the changes remarkable. See Samuel Guy Inman, *Through Santo Domingo and Haiti: A Cruise with the Marines* (New York: Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 1919), 46.

US officials were able to dub their policy a success because it did what they wanted it to do: create structural change. Top US officials were interested in establishing a democracy favorable to the US, and they believed that by reorganizing Dominican institutions and creating the bureaucracies they could effect that political change. Through structural changes that prioritized efficiency, US officials assumed they could teach Dominicans how to govern more effectively and over time, Dominicans would learn from US officials how to administer their own institutions. Since US officials were not interested in school curriculum or pedagogy, US reforms were limited to broader executive orders that merely provided a framework for the education system. The 1918 education code thus provided the scaffolding for policies that would later be introduced and carried out by Dominican administrators.

Even as US officials sought to indoctrinate current and future Dominican citizens with their views of democracy, they claimed they were not acting as imperialists or hegemons, drawing on examples of collaboration to argue that they were in fact welcomed and invited by Dominicans. In a memorandum to the Secretary of the Navy on the occupation in the Dominican Republic, the Chief of Naval Operations wrote, "emphasis is laid on the fact that the Military Government has endeavored to give the Dominicans their own kind of education in the Spanish language, in accordance with a system devised by Dominicans of high attainment, such results as are arrived at being secured by the Dominicans themselves." He argued that "in this way a number of pupils, such as greater than by any novel method, can be given the fundamentals of an education by methods to which they are accustomed. No attempt has ever been made to force the English language on the Dominicans."[73] In a *New York Times* article describing the military

[73] Memorandum to the Secretary of the Navy from the Chief of Naval Operations, "Material Accomplishments in Dominican Republic under Military Government," January 1921, WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

government's initiatives, Military Governor Snowden further emphasized that the schools employed only Dominicans, insisting, "in compelling rudimentary education the Military Government [was] not imposing American culture in the schools."[74] Top US officials believed that since they were including Dominicans in the education code, from inception to implementation and enforcement, they were not forcing their beliefs on the Dominican public. In fact, the educational interventions themselves were simply a reflection of the needs and desires of Dominican society. US officials were just mentors, guiding Dominicans to use more effective strategies of governance.

Conclusion

US officials prioritized education as a key component of their foreign policy, viewing schools as a way to generate stability in the Caribbean. US officials favored a policy centered on expanding and streamlining the operation of the school system, because they believed that was the quickest and most cost-effective way to implement their visions for the education reforms. Since they wanted to reach the masses, and most Dominicans were rural farmers, opening schools while targeting rural communities was the most effective approach.

Presuming themselves racially superior, US officials took for granted their right and duty to civilize and modernize the Dominican nation. Characterizing Dominicans both by race and class, US officials described them as a population of "mulatto peasants" who relied on their benevolence to eliminate illiteracy, help them create a democracy, and become stable financially and politically. The education system was leveraged to provide the foundation for what they perceived to be a better political system. Drawing on racist logic imposed through an

[74] Sarah MacDougall, "Santo Domingo's Second Dawn," *New York Times*, October 10, 1920, 53; Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 75.

authoritarian regime, US officials argued they were not acting as imperialists and were working with the full consent of the governed. They viewed partnering with Dominicans as an essential part of their work in the Dominican education system.

The 1916 occupation of the Dominican Republic was the culmination of increasingly interventionist policies. Previous administrations had threatened US troops before, and the US government had meddled in Dominican elections in the past; but this was the first time that the US Military had taken over the Dominican government, even if it had already occupied Cuba, Puerto Rico and most recently Haiti. Yet, in the case of the Dominican Republic, US officials were conscientious of emphasizing collaboration and keen to specify that they did not force Dominicans to work with them, but rather offered their services and expertise. The next chapter analyzes why Dominicans chose to collaborate with the military government as regional superintendents, inspectors, and teachers, arguing that they executed changes in the education system based on long-held notions of Dominican citizenship and their own visions for the country's future.

Chapter IV:

Executing the Education Policy, 1918–1920

The most serious problem facing the Dominican people at the moment is demonstrating their capacity for self-government. If for a democracy it is necessary for every citizen to have the culture required for him to be able to conscientiously fulfill the duties for the position society has created for him, it is an essential condition that there be constituents in it prepared to fulfill with intelligence and honesty the mandate of the people so that this democracy can adopt the representative form of government.

Julio Ortega Frier, General Superintendent of Public Instruction
(1917–1924)

Introduction

Between 1918 and 1920, Dominican education administrators collaborated with US officials to create an organized and hierarchical education bureaucracy and to establish measures to enforce the new school codes. Seeking to make public schools universal institutions, education administrators expanded schools into rural areas, prioritized the compulsory school law, divided schools into districts, and implemented two national curricula that were differentiated by geographic designations. In the span of just two years, these education administrators managed the largest number of schools with the highest enrollment numbers the country had ever seen.[1] While these reforms appeared to be designed principally to improve schools, education administrators used these school policies to disseminate their visions for the future of the country. Through schools, these administrators sought to ensure that the country's diverse population was educated on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, according to their class status as professionals or laborers. Dominican education administrators collaborated with

[1] See Appendix E, "Number of Students Enrolled in Public Schools, 1867–1920" and Appendix F, "Number of Rudimentary Schools, 1916–1920."

officials in the US military government because they shared a belief that public schools could uplift Dominican culture and national consciousness, as well as modernize the country's citizens. In particular, education administrators saw education as a way to both sharpen the country's future leaders and acculturate Dominican farmers by making them productive contributors to the nation. They reasoned that collaborating with US officials during the occupation could be a valuable means to this end.

Although US officials traditionally receive credit for changes made during the 1916 occupation, General Superintendent of Public Instruction Julio Ortega Frier and his regional superintendents were the men behind the reforms and the true architects of the education system. This chapter covers the period beginning with the initial reorganization in 1918 and culminating in the height of the education reforms in 1920. It starts with a close look at these education administrators and their vision for education: how they understood its societal role, what they sought from the modifications to the school system, and why they ultimately chose to collaborate with US officials. It proceeds with an inquiry into the changes to examine how these officials implemented the school policies and, in doing so, it considers what the reforms looked like on the ground, what sorts of issues the officials encountered when implementing the policies, and how they attempted to resolve these issues. This chapter then concludes with an analysis of how the modifications and vision for education were initially received by the individual school's stakeholders, the broader Dominican public, and the US military government.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, literature on the 1916 US occupation has tended to characterize the US intervention of the Dominican Republic in terms of conflict and resistance. My research breaks from this historiography by painting the period in more ambiguous tones,

arguing that it was characterized neither by US domination nor by Dominican opposition.[2] Rather, by focusing on collaboration between the two, this chapter examines how Dominican administrators actively participated in the education reforms during the US occupation and analyzes how and why they decided to put specific policies into effect. This chapter reconsiders the "US" policies by studying them through the perspective of the Dominicans tasked with translating US visions into implementable policies and programs for the school system. It thus reveals how these education administrators took advantage of the two sides' converging interests, not solely as a result of coercion and US hegemony but because of a shared understanding of universal schooling and the adoption of a "practice-based" education for working-class populations. [3]

The Vision for Education: Educational Administrators

"Education administrators," often referred to as *autoridades escolares*, represent the top Dominican officials in charge of managing the education system.[4] Within the organizational

[2] There is substantial scholarship on the resistance to the US occupation, among both peasants and intellectuals. See Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the US Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); Julie Franks, "The Gavilleros of the East: Social Banditry as Political Practice in the Dominican Sugar Region, 1900–1924," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8, no. 2 (1995): 158–81; Isabel de León Olivares, *Defender la nación: Intelectuales dominicanos frente a la primera intervención estadounidense, 1916–1924* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2019); Félix Servio Ducoudray, *Los "gavilleros" del este: Una epopeya calumniada* (Santo Domingo: Editora de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, 1976); María Filomena González, *Línea Noroeste: Testimonio del patriotismo olvidado* (San Pedro de Macorís: Universidad Central del Este, 1985). Other works have focused on the role of US officials and highlighted US influence. See Stephen M. Fuller and Graham A. Cosmas, *Marines in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1924* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1974); A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2019).

[3] This case fits with other examples in Latin American history where government officials used schools to control and reshape the identities of subaltern groups. See Marcelo Caruso, "Latin American Independence: Education and the Invention of New Polities," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 409–417; Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho & Marcus Vinícius Fonseca, "Political Culture, Schooling and Subaltern Groups in the Brazilian Empire (1822–1850)," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 525–539; Lasse Hölck & Mónika Contreras Saiz, "Educating Bárbaros: Educational Policies on the Latin American Frontiers Between Colonies and Independent Republics (Araucania, Southern Chile and Sonora, Mexico)," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 435–448.

[4] I use the terms education administrators and autoridades escolares interchangeably.

structure of Department of Justice and Public Instruction, the General Superintendent and regional superintendents served directly under the secretary of the department, Rufus H. Lane.[5] While these administrators oversaw school officials, such as school inspectors, principals, and teachers, they also saw themselves as influential leaders responsible for the development of the system. A 1918 circular outlining the positions noted that "each autoridad escolar, within the jurisdiction radius and in harmony with the provisions of the aforementioned legal attribution, can and must arrange or organize it, in its full disposition or organization, in its concept, as necessary and effective for the purposes of the service."[6] By upholding order and uniformity within the education system, Dominican education administrators hoped to contribute to making the nation more modern, organized, and efficient.

Julio Ortega Frier, a Dominican educated in the United States, was selected as the General Superintendent of Public Instruction—the key interlocutor in the project to modernize the education system. Ortega Frier attended high school in New York City and later went to Ohio State University before returning to the Dominican Republic and becoming the chief administrator of the school system. [7] The military government identified Ortega Frier as the ideal

[5] See Appendix B, "Organizational Structure of the Public School System during US Occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916–1924."
[6] Salvador Cucurullo, "Circular 38," May 18, 1918, document no. 0027, exp. 1, años 1917/1920, leg. 1_958, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[7] Ortega Frier first traveled to New York to attend high school in 1903, later graduating from the industrial-oriented Ohio State University. Similar to other aspiring leaders in the Spanish Caribbean during the early twentieth century, Ortega Frier used education and his schooling in the United States as a way to advance his socio-economic status and career prospects. After returning to the Dominican Republic in 1909, he ascended positions in the education system, working first as an educator in the country's normal school and then as a regional superintendent. During the start of the US occupation in 1916, he served as secretary for the education commission, tasked with evaluating the school system. In this position, he caught the attention of top US officials, who described him as having "executive ability, technical knowledge, fearlessness, and fine public spirit." Just a few months later, at the age of twenty-nine, he was chosen by the US military government as the General Superintendent of the entire school system and would be the person responsible for overseeing the changes during the US occupation from 1917 to 1924. See "Julio Ortega Frier: Representative of the Dominican Republic on the Board of the Pan American Union," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (July 1947): 363–364; Rear Admiral H. S. Knapp, "US Military Governor of the Dominican Republic Annual Report;" Santo Domingo: Boundary Between Haiti, Executive Orders of Military Government, Annual Report, p. 5; WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; Record Group 45: Records of the Naval Library-War Situation; NARA I; Tamar Chute, *Time and Change: 150 Years of the*

person to bring its vision for an efficient Dominican education system to fruition, as he was a Dominican official who was both fluent in English and already familiar with schooling in the US. While still a member of the elite class, Ortega Frier was neither from humble origins nor born into the upper echelons of society. Although he did not attend the elite schools in the Dominican Republic, his family did have enough money to provide him with the means to travel to the United States to further his education.

Serving right below the General Superintendent were the four regional managers: Salvador Cucurullo of the northern department (1917–1923); José Ramón Aristy of the southwestern department (1919–1922); T. R. Calderon of the central department (1920–1924); and S. O. Rojo of the eastern department (1918–1924). The fifth regional superintendent was in charge of the northeastern department, but likely because its proximity to active warfare, the post was subject to high turnover where individuals sometimes lasted only a few months or a few years. [8] As the country was divided into six areas, the General Superintendent was designated the de jure regional manager for the last region, the national capital Santo Domingo.

Ohio State University (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2019); Ortega Frier would write about this as rector of the UASD during the late 1930s–1940s. See Julio Ortega Frier, *Lugar del aprendizaje activo en la universidad* (Ciudad Trujillo: Universidad de Santo Domingo, 1944); Rufus H. Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor;" Santo Domingo-Report O-in-C, Dept. Justice and Public Instruction. February 1, 1920 p. 5; Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to the Marine Occupation of Santo Domingo, 1916–1924; Record Group 127: Records of the United States Marine Corps; NARA I; For an example of Cubans and Puerto Ricans at the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute during this period, see Frank Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010).

[8] Most of the six regions had at least one stable regional superintendent during the occupation. San Francisco de Macoris in the Northeast was the single exception, likely because of the guerilla war between US officials and rural militia in the region.

Figure 4.1: "Julio Ortega Frier: Representative of the Dominican Republic on the Board of the Pan American Union," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (July 1947): 363.

Exclusively men, Dominicans with these titles were well-educated and well-connected members of the upper class. While not necessarily the most privileged of the intellectual elite, their socioeconomic class granted them opportunities for higher education in the Dominican Republic and abroad.[9] In turn, their schooling made them eligible for upper-level supervisory positions in the government. With their background, education, and top positions in government, these education administrators understood it was their duty to contribute to the advancement of the nation. Concerned about the Dominican Republic's financial and political issues, they

[9] Letrados like Américo Lugo, Tulio Cestero, Federico Garcia Godoy, and the extended Henríquez y Carvajal family were *gente de primera*, the pinnacle of the intellectual elite. While not necessarily wealthy, they served as part of the governing class that held cultural capital. They moved through the country's finest schools and top government posts. While they were similar to Ortega Frier in that they took positions in government, they may not have traveled in the same circles. See Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*; April Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), 12.

believed the nation's challenges would be resolved through economic, moral, and intellectual development.

Material progress was foundational to this growth. Ortega Frier claimed that it "would be the cure of all ills" and that economic development was the basis for a modern and civilized nation. Without it, Ortega Frier argued, "there can be no true moral and intellectual progress." [10] By material progress, education administrators believed the country needed to reach a stable degree of economic prosperity in order to participate in the latest trends in infrastructure and industry. To achieve this, the administrators argued that campesinos must do their part. Connecting civic duty to the national economy, education administrators believed that traditionally subsistent small farmers had an obligation to contribute to the growth of the nation by generating products to sell on both the domestic and international markets. In doing so, they claimed, Dominican campesinos would fulfill their patriotic duty by supporting the growth of capitalism in the country. [11]

For these education administrators, schools were key to generating material progress and developing the Dominican Republic into a modern nation. Education needed to be rational and practical, as it should fit the needs and the destinies of the country's citizens, including campesinos. Education administrators understood their role as that of providing a modern education to the Dominican Republic—one that served society, the economy, and the political system. This education, they believed, must be differentiated, efficient, rational, and based in

[10] Julio Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 275.
[11] Notions of productivity and citizenship are similar to those widely espoused in the US during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); David Tyack, *One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

science. Through it, they sought to unify the entire Dominican population—and they saw universal primary education as an essential instrument in organizing the nation.

Ortega Frier made clear his vision for the new education system in the "Notas Editoriales" (Editorial Notes) of the department's official magazine, *Revista de educación*. In his column, Ortega proudly proclaimed that the system he spearheaded,

> will no longer be only the privileged classes that sit on the school benches: all Dominicans, from the son of the humble peasant to the lucky heir of the millionaire, will have to spend the formative period of their lives under the influence of the teacher. Therefore, the school should serve not only those who want to become intellectuals; it should also be useful to those who have to live as a peon, to those who make their life serving those most favored by fortune.[12]

Education administrators stated they had an obligation to the country that entailed taking into consideration the needs of its diverse populations and equipping all Dominicans to perform their duties as citizens.

While all Dominicans would receive a primary education, education administrators did not seek to alter existing hierarchies in Dominican society. Ortega Frier argued that there were two classes in Dominican society, one that was composed of professionals and intellectuals employed in religion, law, medicine, sciences, arts, and literature. The second was the larger class of laborers, who worked in agriculture, commerce, and industry.[13] Each class would fulfill the duties of citizenship based on their capabilities. He maintained that, since the functioning of

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[12] Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 275–276.

[13] Ortega Frier references several US scholars, including Eugene Davenport and his book *Education for Efficiency*, which Ortega Frier cites: "The most significant fact in matters in education today is that men of all classes have come to consider education as something that should improve their condition; and by that they mean, first of all, something that makes their work more efficient and productive, and, secondly, they mean something that makes them live a more complete life." Ortega Frier also references Professor Jonathan Baldwin Turner, to whom he attributes this quote: "All civilized society is divided, necessarily, into two cooperative classes and who are not antagonistic: a small class, whose occupation consists of teaching the true principles of religion, in practicing law, medicine, science, the arts and literature; and another much more numerous class engaged in some form of manual labor, in agriculture, commerce, and industry)." See Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 276.

society only required the top five percent of its population to be in the professional class, the other ninety-five percent should be trained to become efficient and productive laborers. Ortega Frier argued that "by putting those who have been born better equipped in conditions where their aptitudes become a true social force, the only definitely good government, the government of the people through the best elements that they have, will be a reality among us."[14] Influenced by capitalism, this hierarchical notion of citizenship was rooted in the belief that each class had differing abilities and should be taught their place in society.

Therefore, schools needed to be updated to address the needs of the most populous social class: campesinos. These were the people whom education administrators claimed were most desperately in need of their guidance. Ortega Frier argued that "the ignorant Dominican, by natural law, would become the bad pawn, the brute force that more intelligent and skillful hands would direct."[15] Ortega Frier believed that the existing education system, which emphasized a liberal arts curriculum, was not suitable for this majority population, insofar as it trained students to develop an encyclopedic knowledge of history and literature, and focused on academic rigor. With its emphasis on classics, Ortega Frier alleged that the current curriculum did not provide enough vocational instruction to awaken a love for manual labor among rural students or to prepare them to become an intelligent workforce.[16] Since most working-class Dominicans were subsistence farmers, inaugurating an agricultural curriculum for the primary schools was a large part of what Frier envisioned for rural schools across the country. Schools needed to be

[14] Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 7 (December 1919): 482.
[15] Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 275.
[16] The belief that schools be differentiated according to demographic, with some groups being taught industrial and agricultural curriculum, is similar to the training that occurred in schools for African Americans in the US, two key examples of which are the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. For more on these institutions, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). This case differs from the one in the US, as the Dominican administrators emphasize class (rather than race) as the reason for their social position.

reformatted as spaces of "action" where students were taught using pedagogical methods that went beyond rote learning. Students would be trained to make observations and develop their intuition, which in turn would help them in their trades.[17] By teaching working-class students basic literacy and math, supplemented by an agricultural curriculum, these education administrators hoped to enlighten the children—and, by default, their guardians—about modern scientific methods and commercial agriculture.

As a tool for organizing and consolidating state power, schools would serve a "double function" of creating a sense of cultural unity while also preserving traditional class stratifications.[18] Schools reproduced the hierarchical social order by modifying the membership criteria and expectations for different groups of citizens.[19] Urban graded schools would feature a more progressive, rational, and comprehensive curriculum that aimed to shape the intellectual, physical, and moral dimensions of its student body. Rural rudimentary schools, on the other hand, were aimed at repurposing the habits and skills learned in the home for the workplace, regarding students less as children than as future laborers. As a result, rural schools were tasked with fostering good work habits and instilling values such as promptness, order, obedience,

[17] This is similar to what John Dewey argued in "The School and Social Progress," where he states that schools now have the opportunity to "become the child's habitat, where he learns through direct living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future." See John Dewey, *School and Society: The Child and the Curriculum* (1900; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 18.

[18] Mendes de Faria Filho and Vinícius Fonseca, "Political Culture, Schooling and Subaltern Groups"; Lasse Hölck & Mónika Contreras Saiz, "Educating Bárbaros: Educational Policies on the Latin American Frontiers Between Colonies and Independent Republics (Araucania, Southern Chile and Sonora, Mexico)," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 435–448; Bonnie A. Lucero, "Civilization Before Citizenship: Education, Racial Order, and the Material Culture of Female Domesticity in American-Occupied Cuba (1899–1902)," *Atlantic Studies* 12, no.1 (2015): 26–49; Paula Fass discusses this "paradox in the US's efforts to Americanize immigrants." See Paula Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 15.

[19] They included graded schools for those located in urban centers, who were more likely to benefit from a more classically based education; rudimentary schools for rural areas and those who needed basic literacy; and night schools for students who would normally attend rudimentary schools but were unable to attend them during the day.

national unity, thrift, and industriousness to transform students into productive members of the labor force.[20]

On his trip to the Haitian border, Salvador Cucurullo discussed the relationship between his aspirations for the nation and the role of schools in generating greater agricultural output. In his letter to Ortega Frier, Cucurullo noted that Dominicans living on the border knew that they still did not employ the most recent techniques expected of them. They attributed this delay to "the nomadic population of Haiti," who offered products not cultivated or sold by Dominican farmers. [21] Communicating the issues that Dominican campesinos faced, Cucurullo noted that the Haitian vendors made it difficult to "guarantee the honest and industrious farmer the enjoyment of the products of his work in the places near the border."[22] Cucurullo expressed his hope that this information would serve to encourage the expansion of the school program into the border "for the purposes that may lead to the integral normalization of life in that region where the school is going to spread its civilizing influence." In teaching the latest agricultural methods, grounded in science, education administrators believed that rural rudimentary schools would

[20] Letter from the regional superintendent of the northeastern department to school inspectors of the region, November 8, 1918, document no. 0161, exp. 1, leg. 1, 115810, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN. Many leading education reformers understood the development of lower classes was essential for the growth of the national economy. This was especially the case as many countries sought to increase the productive capacity of their working class, either in industrial factories or in agriculture. Mary Kay Vaughan, *State Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982), 14; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

[21] Letter from the regional superintendent of the northern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, October 4, 1918, exp. 116, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[22] This region is significant because of long-standing racist notions about Haiti. As discussed in chapter II, intellectuals and politicians since the nineteenth century have characterized Haitians and those living on the border as "backward" and uncivilized as a way to distinguish the Dominican Republic from its neighbor. They sought to represent the Dominican Republic as the opposite of Haiti, capable of being civilized because of its links to Spain. This area was important to education administrators and was the target of "Dominicanization" projects, where administrators sough to use teachers as vessels through which to transmit a unified Dominican culture. See Juan Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum in the Feminization of Teaching in the Dominican Republic, 1860–1935," in *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession*, eds. Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Román (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 218.

modernize campesinos by teaching them to diversity their crops and inspiring them to become productive farmers and citizens. [23]

Because schools were so essential to the progress of the nation, education administrators argued that such a vital system should be entrusted to experts. National development would stem from the educated classes, who would act as leaders for the "backward masses," educating them on their position in society through the schools. Education administrators believed working-class guardians were unable to achieve these goals on their own and thus dependent on guidance. In a memo to the regional superintendents, Ortega Frier noted that he was aware that "a great majority of guardians do not waste an opportunity to invoke their poverty as an insurmountable difficulty that prevents them from complying with any of the disciplinary rules that regulate the conduct of minors." Ortega Frier warned his subordinates against taking their excuses into consideration, claiming that—if they did— "it would be impossible to maintain the order of the service" and "the valve of excuses, which would be, to all certainty, an interminable process."[24] These administrators made assumptions about the role of the government and the responsibility of state schools in taking the place of the guardians to mold the country's youth. Their ideas were

[23] Beliefs about the deficiencies of the *campesino* were also prevalent among key leaders working outside of the education system. Intellectuals like José Ramón López (1866–1922) defined the national problem afflicting the Dominican Republic as one of civilizing the rural majority. He issued a publication that ascribed the failures of the country, including poor nutrition and inadequate education, to inherited racial traits and the environment. He blamed the racial mixing of Spaniards and Africans for creating a population that was "easily manipulated," which prevented them from having the natural capacity to become independent. Others argued that the legacy of Spanish colonialism and its dominant political power had generated economic dependency, causing Dominicans to continue to be repressed in their development. While these figures disagreed over their explanations of why Dominicans were still unfit to self-govern, intellectuals and education administrators shared the view that the country required severe interventions if it was to make progress towards civilization. See Robin Lauren Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 31.

[24] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to all of the regional superintendents in the country, March 5, 1920, document no. 0477–0478, exp. 1, leg. C375, 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

grounded in the notion that government intervention was justified, since civilized societies should have social institutions like schools to help organize and unify their diverse populations.[25]

Education administrators actively attempted to communicate the civilizing mission of schools to their subordinates. A circular sent to inspectors and principals noted how rural education had "the potential to satisfactorily solve the problem of offering to the largest and most laborious element of the country the knowledge that will transform them into eminently useful men who are rationally aware of their duty, their right and destiny."[26] The flyer encouraged school officials to take pride in contributing to this project, as they were the ones who would shape the campesinos into modern Dominican citizens. The language and tone of the circular implied the altruism and benevolence of this work, portraying it as their mission and patriotic duty to help uplift the downtrodden and lowly masses. In describing the education project as a civilizing mission, education administrators claimed that school officials served an important function. These officials would help organize and cultivate the skills learned from the home with the supplementary knowledge learned from school to mold the future laborer.

School officials also embraced this interpretation of their work. Many believed their job "must be done out of altruism, out of duty and even more out of patriotism."[27] Their sense of responsibility came from their perception of the campesino as "reluctant, an open enemy of the school," whose transformation hinged on the unwavering commitment of school officials. One

[25] This notion was shared by intellectuals and political leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Eugenio María de Hostos in the Dominican Republic, Horace Mann in the United States, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in Argentina were some notable adherents.
[26] Salvador Cucurullo, "Circular 27," April 30, 1918, document no. 0017–0018, exp. 1, años 1917/1920, leg. 1_958, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[27] School inspector of Jarabacoa, "Report to the regional superintendent of the central department," August 6, 1921, document no. 0135–0139, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Teachers in Puerto Rico had similar perceptions of the *jíbaro*, small rural farmer. See Solsiree del Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).

school inspector noted that the mission of Dominican schools was to "prepare citizens and mothers for the *porvenir* [future]." In order to accomplish this, school officials must serve as exemplars "in the midst of an atmosphere of sincerity and love of work, capable of impregnating these virtues." Like education administrators, school officials explicitly articulated their role as that of working to civilize "this troop of future citizens that the school is taking out of the swamp of vice, to deliver them to the country tomorrow as useful men and women."[28]

There was also widespread consensus among the broader literate public about the importance of schools within society more generally, and public schools in particular were seen as a valuable tool to socialize citizens. Journalists wrote articles declaring that schools would correct the disorder in the country and bring "a radical, profound change in our collective consciousness." [29] They urged schools to teach the value of labor and work in lifting people out of poverty. These authors spoke of schools as developing virtue and instilling in their students notions of duty to the nation, along with eliciting "the triumph of good, truth and honor" in the broader public.[30] Newspapers featured articles advocating that schools be built in rural areas in particular, because journalists believed they were necessary to eradicate the "social plague" of illiteracy. These articles trafficked in a perception of the campesino as not yet ready for citizenship and propagated the belief that rural schools would help them understand their role and responsibilities to the nation. In terms of pedagogy, journalists commented that the curriculum of the schools should be rational and scientific, related to the "natural" way of the

[28] Letter from the school inspector of San José de las Matas to the president of the municipal government, July 31, 1919, document no. 0209, exp. 1, leg. 32_37, 104819, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; School inspector of Santiago to the principles in the school within the district, September 1, 1920, document no. 0047, exp. 1, leg. 1, 116073, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[29] "Educación del carácter de los niños," *Ecos del Valle*, December 7, 1919, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[30] "Editorial: Concepto del deber," *Ecos del Valle*, August 20, 1919, Digitized Collection, AGN; "El maestro rudimentario," *Ecos del Valle*, September 7, 1919, Digitized Collection, AGN.

brain, and considerate of the "fragility of memory" in their construction of lessons.[31] These ideas about science and rationalism as the foundation for the pedagogy were also espoused by Ortega Frier and the regional superintendents.

Additionally, education administrators argued that schools could impact Dominican politics. They claimed that schools could assist in the centralization of the political system by imposing state-control over this key institution. They aimed to administer state authority through supervision and bureaucratic hierarchies. Drawing on the factory model, the education system would monitor for uniformity and quality through the constant supervision of its employees. Education administrators also sought to control students by enforcing punctuality and implementing a dress code. Through the restructuring of the education system, administrators sought to model the process of replacing "local control" with a new centralized system. Since the Dominican Republic relied on regional political and economic systems, education administrators aimed to shift the state towards centralization.[32] In its ability to consolidate control and increase uniformity and efficiency, they felt, this rational, scientific systemization was key to becoming a modern nation. Education administrators believed a centralized Dominican state would generate political stability and would prevent regional caudillos from once again gaining influence.

As noted in the previous chapter, US officials feared economic and political volatility in the Dominican Republic. Along with education administrators, they viewed schools as fundamental to the development of the country's political, economic, and social systems. US officials, including Ortega Frier, argued that the liberal arts-based curriculum in the Dominican

[31] "De educación," *Ecos del Valle*, November 26, 1919, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[32] Government officials in Argentina during the 1870s also instituted national and regional bureaucracies to impose order and control and as a way to generate centrality and uniformity. See Myriam Southwell, "Schooling and Governance: Pedagogical Knowledge and Bureaucratic Expertise in the Genesis of the Argentine Educational System," *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 1 (2013): 43–55. For examples in the US, see Fass' *Outside In* and Tyack's *One Best System*.

Republic was outdated, insofar as it targeted the elite classes and was all but irrelevant to the majority of the nation's citizens. US officials also shared the belief that schools should foster patriotism and unify the country's increasingly diverse population, while also advancing modernity by developing a hardworking, productive citizenry that would be the bedrock of the new nation.[33]

Perhaps because of Julio Ortega Frier's own educational experiences—having attended both a more practice-oriented school in the United States and a liberal arts institution in the Dominican Republic—he was able to sympathize with US officials' desire to build a practical and agriculturally-based education system. And, since US officials deemed it vital to work with local school officials in the Dominican Republic, they sought out opportunities to collaborate with Dominicans as a key component of their efforts.[34] In many cases, ideological alignment, and a mutual desire for collaboration, on the part of both the military government and education administrators, created space for them to work together to institute changes in the education system.

In others, Dominican education administrators likely agreed to collaborate with US officials because their own notions of progress were rooted in western civilization, white supremacy, and evolutionist doctrine. In a report on the conditions at the Dominican-Haitian border, regional superintendent José Ramón Aristy noted:

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[33] Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 6 (October 1919): 271–278.

[34] In contrast to other US occupations, Military Governor Knapp explicitly states that he is interested in collaborating with Dominicans, noting "that any attempt to force upon them either the English language or such methods as were, with great propriety, undertaken in the Philippines and Porto Rico, would not bear the good results that were to be hoped for from a system devised by Dominicans of high attainments for their own countrymen." The idea was that the system would be created "by the people" of the country; in reality, however, it was a joint effort between US officials and middle-class Dominicans who sought to expand the system to the lower classes, many of whom lived in the rural areas of the country. See "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from January 1, 1918 to March 31, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; E-15/Box1; Military Government of Santo Domingo; RG 38: Chief of Naval Intelligence; NARA I.

> If the colonizers of this very poor country had had the honor, like the Puritans of New England, so arid or even today so civilized and opulent to declare solemnly, as they declared in 1635, that the State would pay in full the Instruction, which they made compulsory since 1642, this report, instead of being a plaintive hymn to ignorance and misery, would perhaps be a hymn sung to progress and all that means well-being and culture within civilization.[35]

Here, Aristy makes several claims. First, that the US had two advantages in its own development as a nation, which enabled it to institute state-funded compulsory education in the seventeenth century: the honor of being colonized by Great Britain, on the one hand, and fertile land, on the other. Second, he claims that the forlorn state of education near the Dominican-Haitian border needed to be addressed if the Dominican Republic wished to achieve civilization. Third, he argues that, had the Dominican Republic experienced conditions similar to the ones in the US, Dominicans living on the border would be more cultured and civilized. In his memorandum, Aristy associated civilization and culture with colonialism, economic prosperity, and a state-funded education system.

Ortega Frier also saw the Dominican Republic as not quite ready for democracy and believed Dominicans required assistance from US officials before they could manage their own government effectively. In his editorial section of the *Revista de educación*, Ortega Frier noted that "the most serious problem facing the Dominican people at the moment is to demonstrate their capacity for self-government." [36] Although Dominicans were not yet suited to govern themselves, he believed this could be remedied "through vigorous and intelligent educational action." He argued that, for democracy to function, the most gifted members of society must lead, while the rest of the nation executed their predetermined roles. Schools would serve to

[35] José Ramón Aristy, "Informe del Intendente sobre su viaje de inspección a la frontera domínico-haitiana," March 17, 1919, 1702307, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[36] Ortega Frier, "Notas Editoriales," *Revista de educación* 2, no. 7 (December 1919): 482. This rhetoric is strikingly similar to how US officials described the Dominican Republic as a country populated by "mulatto peasants," as noted in chapter III.

organize society by preparing those most equipped to lead for their function, while the majority of the population would work to support the country's industries. The role of the US military government would be to facilitate this process. As members of a more developed nation, US officials would guide Dominicans along their path to modernity.[37]

Implementing the Vision

Dominican education administrators collaborated with US officials to introduce a new education code during the first few years of the military government. Instituted in 1918, the legislation consisted of seven laws that would be the foundation for the comprehensive education system. As previously mentioned, these laws regulated school instruction from the primary to university level, determined school funding, banned religious education in public schools, instituted Spanish as the language of instruction, and mandated attendance for children seven to fourteen years of age. But what did they translate into? What were the actual changes? How did education administrators interpret the code based on their desires to create an education system that was efficient and centralized, differentiated according to class, and designed to prepare citizens for the modern Dominican Republic?

Prior to the occupation, members of the upper class either sent their children to elite schools within the country or abroad or hired tutors to educate them at home. Middle-class families sent their children to the homes of their teachers, where they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.[38] Only 14,000 to 18,000 children, out of a school-age population of roughly 200,000, were enrolled in the decentralized education system. The system was mostly

[37] Some intellectuals saw the US education system as a negative reference point for Latin America. Pedro Henríquez Ureña highlights connections between US and Latin American education and argues that the US serves as a warning against specialization in Latin America. See Pedro Henríquez Ureña, "Cultura y los Peligros de la Especialidad," *La Reforma Social* 16 no. 1 (1920): 22–28.
[38] Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum," 220.

concentrated in urban centers and included a few rural, Catholic, and Protestant schools, all with varying curricula and enrollments. By 1920, just three years after the start of the new education policies, over 100,000 students were enrolled in the schools, with approximately 1,000 rudimentary, graded, and night schools operating across the country. The military government boasted about increasing attendance by approximately forty-five percent, as well as increasing the appropriation for schools and launching summer institutes for teacher training.[39] In a few short years, the collaboration between US and Dominican officials appeared to have worked. Education administrators had succeeded in establishing a bureaucratic centralized school system, expanding state-run schools into rural areas and enrolling half of the nation's school-age children.

Arguably, the most important policy was the *Ley de instrucción obligatoria* (the compulsory school law), which required attendance from all children of both sexes between the ages of seven and fourteen.[40] Although it was not a new mandate, this was a crucial piece of legislation for two reasons. First, the education administrators wanted to create a universal national school system and, in order to do so, needed to find a way to compel the nation's school-age children to attend state schools.[41] Second, the policy was grounded in the notion that the state and its officials should have influence over children in the nation, sometimes more so

[39] Juan Alfonseca, "Las maestras rurales del valle del Cibao, 1900–1935: Un acercamiento de los espacios de la enseñanza femenina en contextos campesinos de agro-exportación," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 32, no. 118 (2007): 389–390; US Military Government of Santo Domingo, *Santo Domingo: Its Past and Its Present Condition* (Santo Domingo, 1920): 31–37.
[40] This was not the first compulsory school law instituted by the Department of Public Instruction; the previous code promulgated in 1913 also called for instruction to be mandatory for children under fourteen. The key differences seemed to be in the implementation and enforcement of the policy, which will be discussed later in this chapter.
[41] The use of compulsory school laws to legitimize state intervention and argue that the state should supplant the parent in shaping the child was common in both Latin American and US contexts. See Mary Kay Vaughan, *State Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982); Tyack, *One Best System*.

than their guardians, so as to ensure the child was adequately prepared to take on his or her role in society and thus, intensifying the importance of this initiative.

Education administrators needed to ensure there were enough schools to accommodate this substantial increase in students. Since the bulk of the nation's population lived in the countryside, education administrators targeted the system's expansion into rural areas and enlisted school inspectors to help determine where new schools should be opened. In order to ensure that newly introduced schools would be supported, physically and at times financially, by the local community, education administrators routinely asked school inspectors to gauge how receptive the communities under their jurisdiction were to the education project. By September 1918, just months after the new policies were issued, the Department of Public Instruction had opened 250 new rural schools. Since the compulsory school law and expansion of schools were closely linked, administrators found that they could use both initiatives to support one another. To open new rural schools, education administrators required that school officials recruit and maintain a minimum enrollment of one hundred students.

In their desire for order, education administrators also transformed the previously haphazard organization of the school system into a centralized and hierarchical structure. Julio Ortega Frier separated the national system into six regions and fifty local districts, hiring one inspector per school district, as well as five regional superintendents. Like the compulsory school law, the school inspector and regional superintendent positions had existed in prior education codes. However, these roles were now standardized using a tiered, centralized authority system that operated thorough levels of supervision and a clear reporting structure. These regional superintendents oversaw the enforcement of the education policies on the local level and were expected to ensure that the school inspectors in their jurisdiction performed periodic school

inspections.[42] In centralizing the system, education administrators assigned each school an official number within the district and removed all other previous names and historical references.[43]

Using circulars and standardized memos, education administrators systematized communication within this centralized structure. Even the style and format of the correspondence were normalized to include dates, locations, and the titles of both sender and receiver. As the system expanded and the number of enrolled students multiplied, maintaining an organized institution became an even more valuable task. Education administrators sought to preserve their modern bureaucratized schooling, with uniform and organized record keeping through standard generated forms. They produced monthly cards to record academic progress for each subject and assess behavioral conduct, as well as forms to record school inspections and to enforce the compulsory school law. Regardless of whether they were commonly used, the production of these forms reveals how zealously education administrators sought to establish uniformity and structure through record-keeping and procedures.

Another key initiative was updating the conditions of the schools by building wood and concrete schoolhouses and purchasing new furniture, which was sometimes imported from the United States. Education administrators felt that the furnishings of the previous schools were outdated and that renting homes in which to hold classes was too costly. They argued that, in order to achieve their modern vision, students required "comfortable and durable" furniture and

[42] Salvador Cucurullo, "Circular No. 16: División de la Común de Santiago en dos Distritos Escolares," March 18, 1918, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[43] Salvador Cucurullo, "Circular No. 15: Numeración de las escuelas primarias de la común de Santiago," March 18, 1918, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; Letter from Salvador Cucurullo, the regional superintendent of the northern department to the school inspector of Santiago, May 17, 1918, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN. While researching, I came across a few school observation records in the papers for the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction. See legajo 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.

the buildings needed to be operated and owned by the government. Salvador Cucurullo, the regional superintendent of the northern department, called the building of new schoolhouses "an indispensable means for public education to achieve true efficiency."[44] Between 1918 and 1920, the military government spent over $50,000 on school furniture and over $1,000,000 on seven schoolhouses, each of which contained two to six classrooms.[45] As for furniture, education administrators imported and distributed about 34,000 desks from the US and purchased hundreds of blackboards, teachers' tables, and chairs. The administrators also bought curricular items like bells and numerical frames and attempted to provide each school with a Dominican flag.

Schools were divided by primary and secondary instruction. Primary schools received the most attention since education administrators were interested in expanding schools to the rural masses. Ironically, administrators favored defunding secondary schools, since they were viewed as catering to the elite, despite the fact that access to secondary schooling and higher education had placed them on their path to professional success. Nevertheless, the primary schools were further divided into two categories. *Escuelas graduadas* (traditional graded schools) included six levels of instruction and featured a more "complete" or comprehensive curriculum that included history, geography, writing, arithmetic, and castellano (Spanish), as well as health, hygiene and physical fitness as depicted on page 119.[46] Graded schools were developed during previous

[44] Letter from Salvador Cucurullo, the regional superintendent of the northern department, to the school inspector of Santiago, June 3, 1918, 101011, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN. Inspectors also reiterated that "the most important" tasks facing public instruction were hiring enough qualified teachers and enforcing the compulsory school law. See letter from the school inspector of Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, April 12, 1919, document no. 0025, exp. 2, leg. 1_726, 10076, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[45] Correspondence from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of the Navy, "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo for the months of April, May and June 1918," July 1918, exp. 6, leg. 42, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Sarah MacDougall, "Santo Domingo's Second Dawn," *New York Times*, October 10, 1920.

[46] Health and physical fitness courses were important to the development of citizens in Puerto Rico as well. See Solsiree del Moral, "Colonial Citizens of a Modern Empire: War, Illiteracy, and Physical Education in Puerto Rico, 1917–1930," *NWIG: New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 87, no. 1/2 (2013): 30–61.

education efforts during the late nineteenth century and were often located in urban areas. Since the era of the previous reforms, their primary objective was to nurture the moral, intellectual, and physical development of the students, so as to prepare them for leadership and administrative roles. [47] Complementing the academic rigor with wellness courses, education administrators sought to use graded schools to cultivate well-rounded and healthy citizens who would eventually become the professional class of the modern Dominican nation.

[47] Eugenio María de Hostos (1839–1903) was one of the principal proponents for a civic-minded curriculum. The reforms made by Hostos and other intellectuals at the time repurposed the Dominican school system to serve principally as a vehicle for citizen formation. According to Hostos, schools should "republicanize the republic" and seek to inform future citizens about the rights and duties they should perform in everyday life. See Raymundo González, "Introducción," in *Documentos para la historia de la educación moderna en la República Dominicana (1879–1894) Tomo I*, ed. Raymundo González (Editora Búho, C. por A.: Santo Domingo, 2007).

Figure 4.2: Photograph no. 30A-520323; "Girls Exercise at School, Dominican Republic, World War I," WWI; General Photographic File, c. 1775–1941; Records of the United States Marine Corps; NARA II.

Figure 4.3: Photograph no. 30A-520326; "Boys Exercise to Keep Physically Fit," WWI; General Photographic File, c. 1775–1941; Records of the United States Marine Corps; NARA II.

The second set of primary schools were *escuelas rudimentarias*, or rudimentary schools, which were often located in rural areas. These were more limited in scope, teaching students reading, writing, arithmetic, feminine labor, and agriculture. The new educational code invested them with the dual purpose of "combat[ing] illiteracy" and "satisfy[ing] the urgent cultural needs" of the students enrolled.[48] In implementing the reforms, education administrators modified the rudimentary school hours so that they operated in two separate three-hour sessions per day: one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Education officials claimed this was an efficient way to reach a larger population of students, as they would use the same building and resources to enroll double the number of students. Administrators worked to incorporate agricultural courses based in scientific methods, and they introduced school gardens and industrial courses as ways to adapt the instruction to rural populations and to provide them with the "general tools for the development of a practical" and rational life.[49] They promoted the importance of school gardens in helping students connect to nature and discussed the advantages of teaching agriculture through hands-on instruction like school farming projects.[50]

To uniformly carry out his vision for the curriculum, Julio Ortega Frier printed and distributed a curricular guide for rural schools and outlined his expectations for graded schools in the *Revista de educación*. Since they could not afford to institute standardized textbooks due to underfunding, administrators attempted to compel teachers to purchase recommended texts and auxiliary classroom materials like pocket watches.

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[48] Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, "Orden 86," document no. 0329–331, exp. 3, leg. 1_672, 100719, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[49] *La escuela rudimentaria: reglamento, programas e instrucciones* (Santo Domingo: Imp. Linotipo J.R. Vda. García, 1918), 7.
[50] Letter from the school inspector of Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, Nov 3, 1919, document no. 0368, exp. 4, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN. The use of gardens in elementary education is not limited to the Dominican Republic or rural schools. See Elsie Rockwell, "The Multiple Logics of School Gardening: A 'Return to Nature' or 'Love of Labour'?" *History of Education* 49, no. 4 (2020): 536–552.

Just months after the reforms were initiated in 1918, the rapidly expanding system began to face funding issues. Regions found themselves operating with smaller budgets than promised, and education administrators realized they needed to generate more funding to sustain the growing system. Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Rufus Lane, reached out to Military Governor Thomas Snowden alerting him to this problem: "it is believed that the Ayuntamientos [municipal governments] are not able at this time to increase their appropriations," he wrote as part of his plea that the national government cover the gap in local funding. A few months later, Lane followed up to request an additional $300,000 from the national treasury to preserve the expanded system for the 1918/1919 academic year.[51] Without adequate funding, local education officials could not afford to pay the rent for their school buildings, cover teacher salaries, or meet other basic operating necessities. With limited furniture and supplies, principals, who would also often serve as teachers in the rudimentary schools, were held accountable for monitoring school property and making sure students were not removing it from the premises.[52]

Budgets continued to decrease between 1919 and 1920. Although some schools continued to face limitations because of their size and constitution, initiatives like the schoolhouse project were severely impacted by the financial crisis.[53] Writing to the Military

[51] Letter from the regional superintendent of the northern department to the school inspector of Santiago, November 15, 1918, document no. 0276, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, September 19, 1918, exp. 112, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, March 22, 1919, exp. 17, caja 121, 1700203, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Admiral Knapp also warned incoming Military Governor Snowden of the worsening economic conditions. See Angulo, *Empire and Education*, 78.

[52] Letter from the school inspector of Azua to the principals in the district, November 27, 1918, document no. 0578, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector in Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 19, 1919, document no. 0321, exp. 3, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[53] Education administrators discussed how some schools were forced to accommodate 50 students in each classroom. Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the school inspector of Azua, October 4, 1918, document no. 0036, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Governor, Lane expressed the need to revise existing plans for new schoolhouses: "the school department has plans for concrete school houses, but these are too expensive for poorer communes, and in some other materials for construction are more available. A set of plans for wooden school houses is necessary."[54]

Education administrators also appealed to nearby industries for financial contributions toward the construction of new schoolhouses. Regional superintendents like José Ramón Aristy contacted sugar mill operators because he believed the companies would be motivated to "improve the schools of the children of their migrant laborers and employees." [55] Aristy began his request by describing how the national school system had initiated an "era of a radical reform" and detailing how the schools in the area were inadequate. He requested assistance from the administrator in procuring an appropriate location for the new school—one that had ample space to address hygienic and other public health concerns facing the area. Addressing plans to open schools across the region, Aristy noted that the expansion of the rural schools critically depended on the volunteer efforts of community members, particularly local businesses. Aristy assuaged concerns about the extent of the financial contribution, stating that neighbors and guardians would volunteer the labor required to complete the construction. Asking for cooperation from the business, Aristy emphasized that the primary purpose of education was to ensure the child's formation as a future laborer. Thus, it would have made sense for the

[54] Letter from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, December 16, 1919, exp. 115, caja 121, 1700203, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[55] Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the administrator of the sugar mill "Ansonia," November 15, 1918, document no. 0043, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, November 16, 1918, document no. 0092, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the administrator of the sugar mill "Ansonia."

administrators of the businesses to be involved in this endeavor: it was, after all, an investment in their company's future.

Administrators and school officials also encountered issues enforcing the compulsory school law. Even after being in place for almost a year, a school inspector in Santiago noted "the extremely unpleasant spectacle produced by seeing countless children wandering through our streets during the day."[56] Although the children were enrolled in *escuelas nocturnas* (night schools) because they worked as shoe polishers, the school inspector concluded that the guardians should force their children to attend school during the day, since most of them spent their mornings playing anyway and worked only in the evenings. He claimed that the law empowered school officials to compel the guardians to bring their children to school. The school inspector argued that night schools should be limited to children from the poorest families—those who were forced to work, rather than attend school, during the day. This example sheds light on how guardians, teachers, and principals often felt mounting pressure from education administrators to fill schools to capacity and maintain fixed enrollments of one hundred students.

To attain the minimum enrollment, schools were also encouraged to operate as *escuelas mixtas*, or co-educational schools.[57] Prior to the reforms, girls and boys attended separate schools. In order to meet the requirements, co-education was touted as a favorable and efficient method for consolidating the number of school buildings and staff working in the system. However, while education administrators thought it was a good idea, those living in the communities sometimes protested. As one school inspector noted, "the people are rebellious to

[56] Letter from the school inspector of Santiago to the regional superintendent of the northern department, Oct 28, 1918, leg. 1_672, 100719, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[57] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the principals of rudimentary schools in the district, June 10, 1918, document no. 1023, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from July 1, 1918 to September 30, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; RG 38; NARA I.

the meeting of boys and girls." [58] The same school inspector pressured the principal of the rudimentary school in Jarabacoa to enroll both sexes, warning him to do so before his next visit. The inspector commanded the principal to explain the inevitability of co-ed learning to the guardians and to continue implementing the law, despite the potential pushback. School officials in the south faced similar issues. As one inspector, writing to the regional superintendent, noted:

> during the week that ends today, the rural schools have not been able to function as mixed schools, as a result of the guardians refusing to register their girls, claiming thousands of trivialities unworthy of being taken into consideration; therefore, judicial proceedings will be taken against all those who try to circumvent the prescriptions of the Law.[59]

When unable to fill schools or maintain capacity, education administrators issued fines to enforce compliance. They also sought help from school police, who were employed part-time and paid by the municipal government. On a regular basis, education administrators used monthly attendance statistics to send local police as truancy officers to the homes of children who were enrolled in school but did not attend consistently.

Yet not all guardians were against the co-education policy; indeed, some agreed with the new practice. In a letter to the school official in Guayubín, guardians expressed their satisfaction and gratitude for the "vehement determination" the official demonstrated by establishing a school in their community. [60] The guardians described how children often came from neighboring villages to attend the only school in the area, which enrolled 200 students and

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[58] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, June 14, 1918, document no. 0723, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[59] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the principals of the rudimentary schools in the district, June 10, 1918, document no. 1023, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of San José de Ocoa to the regional superintendent of the southwestern department, November 16, 1918, document no. 0391, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[60] Letter from guardians in Guayubín to the school inspector of Guayubín and the regional superintendent of the northern department, March 10, 1920, document no. 00077–00079, exp. 2, leg. 18, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

regularly offered six different classes across three different grades of primary instruction. Guardians also voiced their opinions on the policies implemented. In their letter, guardians not only expressed their support for co-educational schools, but conveyed appreciation for the fact that work and study were jointly practiced in them and that they served to "form [the] character" of the students.

Disease transmission also impacted the implementation of the new education code and initiatives pushed by education administrators. Influenza and measles afflicted different areas, on varying timelines, causing some regions to reopen schools at the same time others were attempting to contain an outbreak. Azua, a region in the southwest part of the country, was struck first by measles then subsequently by the arrival of Spanish flu in the fall 1918, causing the schools in the urban center to shut down entirely.[61] Both illnesses also reached other smaller cities in the region, motivating the local Department of Health and Sanitation to close many of the schools in the area and even postponing a visit by top education officials. Quarantines imposed on villages impacted by these viruses became issues for school inspectors, whose work relied on visiting schools and traveling between communities. In San Juan, also in the southwest, all schools were closed except for one because of public health concerns.[62] During the winter of 1919, the epidemics spread to the north and central regions of the country. In schools that

[61] Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the chief sanitation officer in the province of Azua, November 15, 1918, document no. 0264, exp. 1, 110410, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, November 6, 1918, document no. 0266, exp. 1, 110410, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[62] Letter from the secretary of the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the regional superintendent of the southwestern department, December 30, 1918, document 0080–0081, Dic, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, November 9, 1918, document no. 0168, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of San Juan to the regional superintendent of the southwestern department, November 26, 1918, document no. 0168, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.

remained opened, attendance plummeted, and inspectors, principals and teachers reported having trouble enforcing the compulsory school law. School officials were also personally impacted by the virus. One school inspector complained that, because of widespread illnesses and "lack of morally and intellectually competent personnel," he was unable to find an adequate replacement.[63] Struggles to contain the pandemics compounded pre-existing funding issues, forcing some schools to close. Many guardians grew discontented with the disrupted service and criticized the closures in newspapers.

Nevertheless, closing the schools was often an inconsistent and haphazard procedure. One consolidated school for girls in the city of Barahona had more than thirty students absent due to illness. The inspector noted that he received a letter on November 13, 1918 from the top health and sanitation official in the area, ordering the closing of the schools for public health concerns. Just two days later, he wrote, "I was advised by the same authority [the sanitation department] that had proceeded with an investigation in the province and that they had come to the conclusion that there no longer existed any illness in the region, thus allowing me to reopen the schools."[64] School and public health officials not only had to deal with inconsistent closing procedures but were also forced to defend their decisions against "violent anti-vaccination propaganda."[65]

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[63] Letter from the school inspector of Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, February 15, 1919, document no. 0113–0114, exp. 2, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, June 23, 1919, document no. 0281–282, exp. 3, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector in Guayubín to the regional superintendent of the northern department, February 20, 1920, document no. 0017, exp. 8, leg. 18, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[64] Letter from the school inspector of Barahona to the regional superintendent of the southwestern department, November 16, 1918, document 0212, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[65] Quarterly Report, Department of Sanitation and Beneficence, July 7, 1921, exp. 6, leg. 57a, 1700235, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Officials alleged that the severe impact of these epidemics were further exacerbated by a trend toward opportunistic absence. One school inspector in Jarabacoa wrote to the municipal government claiming that families in rural communities—often relatively far away, in locations with which teachers were unfamiliar—chose to withhold their children from school under the "pretense that they are ill," since teachers were unable to abandon their posts and could not properly confirm the cases.[66] School officials looked to the municipal government for assistance and requested more funding for school police to aid in enforcing the compulsory school law by visiting students' homes to authenticate cases of illness and return healthy children to school.

Still, many families suffered from the traumatic loss of a child or family members due to these rampant illnesses. One father described his struggles this way:

> A family man as I am, fully aware of my duties, I have never allowed my children to stop fulfilling their duty to attend school. But today it is the case, Mr. Regional Superintendent, that their grandmother and their mother are both on their deathbed and the other seriously ill, to such an extent that I am forced to leave the town and go to Lopez in search of better means of achieving health, of the latter, and that the former is threatened with death because of the years. [67]

He noted that the children themselves suffered from the flu and needed rest to recover. Rather than keep the children home without authorization, which would violate what he understood to be his duty to send his children to school, he pleaded with officials to grant him permission to withdraw his children temporarily without penalties.

Along with compulsory school law and gender mixing policies, many guardians raised concerns about the 1918 education code's prohibition of religious instruction. Almost

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[66] Memorandum from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the municipal government in Jarabacoa, March 31, 1919, document no. 0992–0993, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[67] Letter from a parent in Santiago to the regional superintendent of the northern department, February 16, 1919, document no. 0266, exp. 2, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

immediately after its application, guardians petitioned school officials to restore religious instruction to the curriculum.[68] School officials defended the ban, arguing that religious instruction in state schools was an outdated tradition. They described it as a relic from the previous system, which pre-existed the late-nineteenth century transformation, and portrayed the changes as introducing modernity through rationalism and scientific instruction.[69] While education administrators agreed that schools should teach children to be moral, inculcating virtues like charity, they warned that schools should steer clear of teaching prayer and other practices of worship. In that way, schools—although allegedly secular—were not entirely areligious and did indeed promote virtues and values rooted in the hegemonic religion, albeit not through religious practices. Similar to US common schools, Dominican education administrators believed schools should teach universal morals, but they often taught values which reaffirmed the norms of the majority.[70] In the case of the Dominican Republic, the largest practicing religion was Roman Catholicism, with ninety-eight percent of the population of 900,000 identified as Catholic in the country's 1920 census.

Implicit bias towards the cultural practices of the majority was evident in the strict ways in which education administrators elected to enforce Spanish as the language of instruction and the ban on religious education. The religious and linguistic differences in particular areas threatened the vision of education administrators, who sought to achieve cultural cohesion through schools by instituting Spanish as the language of instruction and emphasizing Catholic-based morality. Areas like Samaná were home to British Caribbean migrants and descendants of

[68] Letter from the school inspector of Pena to the regional superintendent of the northern department, December 23, 1918, 100719, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[69] Intellectuals such as Eugenio María de Hostos led this reform and the expansion of a secular, state-based education system as explained in chapter II.
[70] In his analysis of common schools in the US, Kaestle describes how Protestantism infused the alleged "secular" curriculum. See Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*.

African American freemen who had migrated during the nineteenth century. Thus, many residents in this area spoke English rather than Spanish as their primary language. Thirteen percent of Samaná's 17,000 residents were Protestant. In schools where "Protestant religious exercises" were held, education administrators closed them by citing the ban.[71] Guardians protested the military government's efforts at cohesion by continuing to enroll their children in private English-language schools established by African Methodist Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodist churches, rather than opting in favor of the schools mandated by the Dominican government.[72] In these communities, guardians employed schools to strategically elude executive orders in order to safeguard their rich linguistic and cultural heritage.

Guardians also wrote collective letters to protest prejudicial treatment of their religion in state schools. One group of guardians wrote to Salvador Cucurullo with their complaints about the principal overseeing their local school. They accused the principal of mocking their religion and discriminating against their community, stating: "Can you believe Mr. Intendant that this Public School can give preference to three people and that the rest, because they do not sympathize with said religion, must suffer despite being recipients of public benefits like

[71] It is important to note that the US military forces responded to the resistance to the extension of the Dominican state by Afro-religious communities in extremely violent ways. See Lorgia García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and Archives of Contradiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016). Secretaría de Estado de lo Interior y Policía, *Primer Censo de la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Gobierno Militar, 1920); Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, February 4, 1920, document no. 0528, exp. 1, leg. C375, 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[72] The African Methodist Episcopal church in the Dominican Republic was founded by African American freemen in 1830, following their migration to the Dominican Republic and Haiti during Haitian rule of the island (1822–1844). In subsequent years, the community included British Caribbean migrants who came to the Dominican Republic as laborers for the growing sugar industry. While Samaná is an important epicenter for Black migrants to the Dominican Republic, Christina Davidson makes evident how these communities and religious institutions were not fixed to an isolated enclave but were in fact indicative of a prominent culture throughout the southeast region of the country. Christina Davidson, "Black Protestants in a Catholic Land: The AME Church in the Dominican Republic 1899–1916," *New West Indian Guide* 89 (2015) 258–288. See also, Juan Alfonseca, "Escolarización y minorías étnicas en la República Dominicana, 1918–1944," *Cuadernos Interculturales* 6, no. 11 (2008): 17–45.

everyone else?"[73] While the guardians noted their previous attempts to find solutions, they stated that they felt compelled to write for the teacher's removal, since her mockery continued without consequence. In their letter, the guardians employed their knowledge about the school system's funding and policies to justify their request to have either the teacher removed, or the school closed. The guardians indicated that they were aware that the municipal government used local funds to finance the school and that, since the school had an enrollment of less than forty, it was illegal for her to operate it.

As the number of schools increased exponentially, so did the need for teachers to staff the schools. Education administrators faced issues hiring sufficient competent teachers and placed advertisements in local newspapers to attempt to recruit qualified applicants for vacant positions. As the shortages increased, education administrators decided to reduce system-wide expectations and norms, like teacher licenses, to widen the pool of eligible applicants. By 1920, the deficit grew to be so severe that education administrators resorted to employing former teachers and high school students to fill the empty positions in rural schools. [74] By addressing the staffing crisis in this way, education administrators inadvertently created other issues, such as hiring underqualified teachers. They attempted to remedy the new recruits' lack of pedagogical training by opening summer institutes for teacher training. Rural teachers were required to attend these institutes, which were held during the summer vacation of 1918 and 1919; but not all were pleased with the mandate. In the summer of 1918, forty-two towns across the country held summer schools and attempted to provide the new teachers with the theoretical and practical

[73] Letter from guardians in Sabana Iglesia to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 6, 1919, document no. 0348–0349, exp. 3, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[74] Letter from the school inspector of Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, June 23, 1919, document no. 0281–282, exp. 3, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo for the Quarter ending March 31, 1920," WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

guidance necessary to commence their work in the classrooms. [75] Yet, despite the institute, education administrators found that many of the teachers they recruited not only still lacked adequate teacher training and professionalism, but in many cases practiced harmful teaching methods, including corporal punishment.

In a letter to his superior defending the use of force against a student, one teacher justified isolating the child in the school's supply closet to reprimand him for using obscene language. Upon hearing of the incident, the child's father came to the school to confront the teacher about the punishment. The teacher defended his actions and maintained that he disciplined the student for being *malcriado* (spoiled). When the father attempted to remove his child from the school, the teacher reasserted his authority and informed the father that the child could leave only after he completed his punishment. The teacher proceeded to shame the father by accusing him of causing an *escandalo*, a scene or commotion. The teacher then tried to intimidate the parent by calling for the police and threatening to have the father arrested if he tried to enter the school door to remove his child.

This example illustrates not only the impunity with which teachers used corporal punishment, but it also serves to demonstrate how teachers saw themselves as part of the civilizing mission that education administrators had originally envisioned and how they wielded their cultural and social power over guardians, as well. By using the term "malcriado" (bad-mannered), the teacher implied the child was being "mal" "criado" or poorly raised. Thus, the teacher believed it was his duty to take on the role of "raising" the child because of what he

[75] This was also instituted in Cuba during the US occupation. It is unclear whether this was an initiative brought by US officials or just a widespread practice at the time. See Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012); "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo for the Quarter ending September 30, 1918," WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

understood as parental neglect.[76] In shaming the father and emphasizing his perceived impropriety and negligence, this incident exemplifies the patronizing tone teachers often used with guardians to reinforce implied differences in social class based on professional status and perhaps, slightly higher education level. Furthermore, the fact that the teacher was able to freely admit the abuse to his superior, even though the practice was outlawed—and that he felt comfortable calling the police to defend his illegal actions—reveals not only how teachers took on the role of parenting, but how their position and authority were protected and sanctioned by the governing structures.

Letters to education officials expressing distrust in local primary schools reveal that, in some cases, the abuse was so severe that guardians preferred to homeschool their children. Writing to a school inspector regarding his children's school attendance, one father in Duvergé commented that he had chosen to educate his own children due to concerns about the local school's principal, keeping them home "so that they are guaranteed not to be cruelly flogged."[77] Of course, not all education administrators defended teachers' incompetence or cruelty. In their classroom visits, school inspectors sometimes complained about the unprofessionalism of the teachers, describing many of them as incompetent, careless, unpunctual, undisciplined, lacking work ethic, or lacking morality.[78]

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[76] Article 8 of the 1918 code of education outlawed punishments that were cruel and degrading to students, but corporal punishment was still widely practiced. Letter from the principal of urban rudimentary school #1 to the school inspector of Villa Riva, July 6, 1920, document no. 0341–0342, exp. 1, leg. C375, 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[77] Letter from a parent in Duvergé to the school inspector in Duvergé and Neyba, November 24, 1918, document no. 0554–560, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[78] It is important to note here that public clocks were sometimes only available in urban areas or sparsely scattered through rural ones. Letter from the school inspector of Pena to the regional superintendent of the northern department, December 23, 1918, 100719, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, November 19, 1918, document no. 0080, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Similarly, education administrators disparaged school inspectors for what they viewed as failures to meet the obligations and expectations of the job. Regional superintendents complained regularly about the difficulty of getting in touch with and hearing back from inspectors when they visited schools in their jurisdiction. This was despite knowing that inspectors rode on horseback, covered widely spread areas, and often had to deal with poor road conditions. Administrators also reported discrepancies in the enrollment and attendance data available in their jurisdiction. In these instances, regional superintendents issued fines and sent threatening messages to reaffirm their authority and to remind them of the department's commitment to accuracy. [79]

Despite the pressing need for school officials, most were neither adequately compensated nor regularly paid. Oftentimes, rural teachers would go months without seeing a paycheck, causing many to resign and further exacerbating the need for teachers.[80] Along with salary issues, teachers and inspectors in the eastern region worked in sometimes hazardous conditions. School officials were threatened with violence and abuse from gavilleros, often referred to as "bandits," motivating many to resign from their positions.[81] When the school inspectors

[79] Letter from the school inspector in Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 19, 1919, document no. 0321, exp. 3, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the school inspector of Neyba, November 9, 1918, document no. 0170, exp. 31 leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector in Bajabonico to the superintendent of the northern department, January 18, 1919, document no. 0157, exp. 2, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[80] Letter from the school inspector of Guayubín to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 18, 1920, document no. 002–003, exp. 8, leg. 18, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo for the Quarter ending March 31, 1920," WA-7-Allied Countries, Santo Domingo, Reports of Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[81] *Gavillerismo* emerged during the early-twentieth-century sugar boom as a response to efforts by the national government to assert control through measures such as altering the communal land system and increased policing. Between 1916 and 1922, the eastern part of the country was in the midst of a guerilla war involving US troops and gavilleros, a peasant-based rural movement that opposed the expanding state, increased policing, and the brutalities committed by the Marines. Although gavilleros engaged in direct confrontations with US troops, their attacks also prevented the military government from opening schools in several towns until late into the occupation. See Franks, "The Gavilleros of the East," 166–170. Commanding General of the US Marine Corps to the Military Governor, December 20, 1920, exp. 108, leg. 47, 1700209, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

conveyed their concerns to US Marines, their complaints were dismissed as false reports or were met with the response that US officers were "powerless to prevent" such occurrences.[82] Teachers in the area also complained about feeling threatened; some even described feeling personally persecuted by the gavilleros, forcing them to abandon their positions.

Although education administrators worked to institute their vision for the Dominican nation through schools, they relied primarily on the cooperation of guardians to do so. While school inspectors and principals issued fines to enforce the compulsory school law, thousands of guardians willingly enrolled their children in public schools and ensured that their children attended regularly. Community members supported the efforts of government officials in local parent associations called the *Sociedades Populares de Educación* (Popular Education Societies). These groups helped bring to fruition many of the initiatives touted by education administrators and US officials. Indeed, the Sociedades were responsible for constructing the vast majority of the rural schools using donated materials, resources, and local volunteers. Between 1918 and 1920, they built more than 300 schools nationwide. Not only did guardians in the society construct the schools, but they also worked to furnish them with child-sized benches and desks.[83]

An executive ordered issued by Secretary Lane in March 1919 outlined the roles and responsibilities he envisioned for these societies. Lane noted that groups of guardians of both sexes would be established primarily in rural areas and that membership to the Sociedades would

[82] Letter from the Eastern District Commander of the US Marines to the Commanding General of the Second Provisional Brigade, US Marines, May 27, 1920, document no. 004–005, exp. 197, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Colonel A.T. Matrix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor: August to September 1920," exp. 10, leg. 56, 1700207, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Letter from the principal of rudimentary school #6 to the school inspector of San Pedro de Macorís, June 12, 1919, document no. 0052, exp. 1, leg. 1_718, 100765, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[83] Colonel A.T. Matrix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor: May to July 1920," exp. 6, leg. 56, 1700207, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the municipal government in Jarabacoa, Julio 31, 1920, document no. 0391–0392, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

also include the corresponding school inspector, principal, and local government official. The chief purpose of the association was to provide and maintain both the land and building used to house the local rudimentary school. The executive order granted the local societies the ability to manage the funds allocated for these purposes, although they were often scarce since municipalities were severely underfunded. It also conferred on each community organization the right to determine if their school would be co-educational or if boys and girls would be taught separately. The Sociedades were also given the option to choose the sex of the principal, determine the school vacations, and set the school hours, so long as they accomplished their primary charge.[84]

Guardians wrote to school officials and education administrators alike praising the reforms. Many expressed their desire to keep their children enrolled in schools so that they would receive basic literacy and mathematics skills and expressed a belief in schooling as a way to "form character and inspire generous ideas."[85] Guardians frequently articulated their appreciation for the instruction and assured officials that they neither needed to be threatened with the law nor compelled with fines to bring their children to school. Even guardians with limited means did everything in their power to make sure each child had what was needed to attend school. Guardians who could not afford to send their children to school with shoes, for example, made valiant efforts to provide the books and notebooks required. [86]

Despite their desire to keep their children enrolled, many guardians still experienced difficulty bringing children to school every day. A mother in San Francisco de Macoris reached

[84] Rufus H. Lane, "Department of Public Instruction General Order No. 1-19," March 25, 1919, document no. 0383–0385, exp. 29, leg. 1_958, 10111, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[85] Letter from a principal in Yerba Buena to the school inspector of the district, September 20, 1919, document no. 0099–0100, exp. 1, leg. 1_718, 100765, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[86] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the municipal government in Jarabacoa, Julio 31, 1920, document no. 0391–0392, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

out to Salvador Cucurullo explaining the situation she faced. Since her family was destitute, she and her husband had to live separately so that they could both find employment to make enough to live. To do that, she had to leave their children under the care of their father, and thus she was unable to take them to school. For this particular mother, her desire to keep her children enrolled in school was so profound that she contacted the regional superintendent to request to transfer them to a school that was closer to her so she could take care of bringing them to school every day.[87]

Guardians with more economic resources faced similar challenges bringing their children to school and adhering to the new policies. An owner of a trading house noted that he often relied on his maid to bring his children to school; but since she had retired, he had to create an arrangement with the older children to care for their younger siblings until he could find a suitable replacement. The father was overheard saying, "nobody can be as interested in the education of my children as I am because I am their father and those are my aspirations," and noted that he would make arrangements so that the children would be more punctual.[88]

Local governments also expressed their general satisfaction with the changes. Politicians in municipal government wrote to congratulate members of the military government for instituting a compulsory school law, assisting in the efforts by announcing new executive orders to their constituents and working with top officials to suggest locations for new schools. Even as local officials described their struggles to finance and maintain schools and confronted personnel shortages, they continued to reaffirm their commitment to the school system because these

[87] Letter from a parent in San Francisco de Macoris to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, September 15, 1919, 111487, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[88] Memorandum from the Secretary of the municipal government of San Francisco de Macoris, May 14, 1920, document no. 0238–0239, exp. 1, leg. C375, 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

officials identified the education reforms as one of the "most positive results rendered in the history" of their communities.[89]

Along with guardians and government officials, Dominican elites working outside of the schools also viewed the development of the education system as foundational to "the betterment of the way to be a Dominican people."[90] Many saw the changes in the schools as having a positive impact on the country as a whole. In an unsigned letter to Colonel B. H. Fuller, who was then Secretary of State, Interior, and Police, the author states:

> The school out-look is not only an encouraging one in the town as well as in the countries, but it is also inspiring. The school house has lost its former forlorn appearance, and along the roads the traveler meets groups of happy and contented children going to or returning from their school work; or he finds them standing at the foot of the rustic truck from which our flag is flying, engaged in the singing of our patriotic hymn, which reminds us of our glorious past, as well as school songs estimulating [sic] their love of knowledge.[91]

This letter represents how elites often viewed the inculcation of order and patriotism as two of the greatest transformations resulting from the recent school reforms. The patriotic imagery of the flag, the references to children signing a patriotic hymn, memories of the Dominican Republic's "glorious past," and the emphasis of the children behaving in an orderly manner implied that children who were taught these traits in their modern schools would turn into happy, patriotic citizens. Characterizing the changes in the school system as "inspiring," the author

[89] Memorandum of letter from the mayor of the town of La Sabana to the Military Governor, April 30, 1918, exp. 90, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the Vice President of the Municipal Government of Monte Cristi to the regional superintendent of the northern department, July 5, 1919, document no. 0212–0214, exp. 2, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[90] Correspondence from J. Gasso y Gasso to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, January 16, 1920, exp. 142, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[91] Unsigned letter to Colonel B. H. Fuller, Secretary of State, Interior and Police, November 29, 1919, exp. 14, leg. 73, 1700211, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN. The version of the letter cited and referenced was already translated.

reaffirmed their modernizing influence by juxtaposing them with the "forlorn appearance" of the schools prior to the reforms.

Many newspapers also published articles in favor of the changes and presented views of school that echoed those of education administrators themselves.[92] Journalists ascribed the changes in the education system to the military government and praised their efforts. In one article, the author stated:

> Here is how, among so many meritorious things that the Military Government has wisely endowed us with, the branch of Instruction stands out with the transparency of dawn, and it is because it wants to give us wings; wants to teach us to be men prepared and capable for the bloody struggles of life. [93]

Journalists sometimes praised particular members of the government. Along with the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Julio Ortega Frier was also commended for being "a staunch advocate" who deserved gratitude from country's citizens for his honorable and delicate work on behalf of the nation. [94]

Conclusion

In their mission to transform the state education system, Dominican education administrators sought to influence the reorganization of Dominican society through schools. These administrators saw education as an efficient and effective way to sort future professionals from laborers, providing each population with an education the administrators believed was suitable for their professional destinies. As the country was mostly composed of traditionally subsistent small farmers, administrators centered their efforts on expanding, restructuring, and

[92] It is important to keep in mind that the military government had censorship laws in place actively prohibiting the production and distribution of any criticism toward the government's policies during the course of the occupation, which made it difficult for newspapers to cast the government in any sort of negative light. Calder, *The Impact of Intervention,* 21.
[93] Luis F. Soto, "Mirando hacia el porvenir," *Ecos del Valle*, November 16, 1919, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[94] "Editorial: Escuelas y caminos," *Ecos del Valle*, January 7, 1920, Digitized Collection, AGN.

reforming rural schools. Julio Ortega Frier believed that the children of laborers needed a practice-based education so they, like their guardians, could learn to "do their part" to improve the nation through material productivity. Education administrators sought to modernize the nation by increasing the export of domestic agricultural products and tied the campesinos' contribution to the national economy to their formation as citizens.

To do so, education administrators created an education bureaucracy and bifurcated the school system. Education administrators sought to create greater efficiency in the schools by differentiating them according to the perceived needs of the students they targeted. These administrators also attempted to create uniformity and centralization within this two-tier system by standardizing texts and curriculum, as well as by implementing systems to supervise and enforce their policies. Education administrators collaborated with the US military government because they shared the belief that education was a way to uplift Dominican culture, the national consciousness, and the country's citizens. Yet, in arguing for Dominicans' potential to be civilized through schools and perpetuating the notion that the country was populated by "backward peasant farmers," education administrators reified notions of white-supremacy and anti-Black rhetoric inherent in arguments about development and ability.

Nevertheless, the education administrators faced obstacles to enforcing compulsory school law, securing school funding, and mobilizing popular support for other new national policies like making schools co-educational and enforcing the punctuality of employees. Yet, while there was certainly backlash from many members of the community who felt targeted or particularly strained by the new policies, the implementation of the compulsory school law and expansion of the school system was, on the whole, an overwhelming success. Still, even as most Dominican guardians and community members embraced the changes made by the education

officials, emerging financial strains caused by the expansion of schools would create existential problems for the new system.

Chapter V:

The Collapse of the Public School System, 1920–1924

The public schools, as you know, honorable President, were elevated to such a degree of advancement, spreading it like a sun that threw its lamentations through the dark fields of ignorance, in all the most remote places of the country, as well as in terms of its rigorous disciplinary organization and its advanced methodology, back in the beginning of the public administration directed by the government of the Military Occupation established in our country by forces of the United States of North America; but unfortunately honorable President, later, the fate that fell to the benefactor institution of public instruction has been completely evil, culminating such fatality with the suspension of this important and indispensable branch of the tree of public administration.

Students in Monte Cristi

Introduction

By 1921, just five years after the US military took over the Dominican school system, schools were in a lamentable state. In the immediate months after taking control, Dominican education administrators collaborated with the US military government to introduce reforms that quickly generated widespread support from Dominicans throughout the country. By 1920, the school system enrolled half of the school-age population and encompassed approximately 1,000 rudimentary, graded, and night schools across the Dominican Republic. However, a few months later, the school system faced a complete shutdown, which forced it to cut the school budget by approximately forty percent and close over 200 rural schools throughout the country.[1]

This chapter examines how Dominican guardians (including parents and others responsible for a child's care) and community members across the Dominican Republic responded to mass school closures between 1921 and 1924. It begins with an analysis of the

[1] "Changes Made in 1921," exp 45, leg. 103, 1700211, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

decline of the school system to highlight how the choices made by the US military government accelerated the system's collapse, followed by a close look at how guardians and community members responded to this failure of the state by expanding their efforts to establish and maintain schools in their areas.[2] While government officials claimed primary education was necessary for citizenship, non-elite Dominican guardians and community members in both urban and rural areas believed their involvement in local schools was essential to fulfilling their duties as citizens. Dominican guardians asserted their citizenship and practiced their community-based notions of civic duty by making demands on the government and working to sustain schools without government assistance. These traditions predated the US occupation and clashed with paternalistic arguments about the government's responsibility in providing schools to educate Dominicans on how to be citizens. Rather, lower- and middle-class Dominicans sustained their local schools because they believed it was their duty to do so.

A considerable amount has been written about the role of schools in indoctrinating and Americanizing subjects of US empire in the early twentieth century. Scholars have argued that the US military effectively used schools as part of their endeavor to inculcate forms of democracy compatible with US interests as a key tenet of imperial foreign policy. However, very little has been written about the impact US education policies had on the ground.[3] The

[2] I use the term "collapse" to attract attention to do two things: first, to the deteriorated condition of the state-sponsored school system in this latter period of the occupation, which is largely ignored in US records from the time; second, to emphasize the fact that although the formal public school system fell apart, informal and grassroots efforts allowed for schooling to continue.

[3] For perspectives that center around US officials, see Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Jose-Manuel Navarro, *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and US Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898–1908* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during US Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Léon D. Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures: America's Educational Strategies in Occupied Haiti, 1915–1934* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2008); Aida Negrón de Montilla, *Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public-School System 1900–1930* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1977). Few books center around on-the-ground perspectives on education reforms during the US occupations. See Solsiree del Moral,

Dominican case, though understudied, provides a fascinating example of what transpires when these efforts were implemented in a country with an active rural peasantry and a long history of education reform. Scholarship that does address the reforms in the Dominican Republic focuses almost exclusively on the early years of the occupation and fails to consider how school closures impacted the longevity of the reforms.[4] Additionally, studies that examine the engagement between Dominicans and US actors during the end of the occupation focus either on gavilleros, peasant guerilla fighters, or the key leaders of the intellectual resistance. This scholarship does not speak to the role of education in orienting non-elite Dominicans toward the Dominican state or US empire. This chapter addresses these gaps by using the final years of the education reforms as a lens through which to consider the actions and perspectives of the rural majority.

The Decline of the School System

In the years preceding the occupation, only 14,000 to 18,000 of roughly 200,000 school-age children were enrolled in the decentralized school system. By 1920, over 100,000 students attended state-sponsored schools. Even with slightly more graded and rudimentary schools, the system now included 600% more students. While the total number of primary schools changed only marginally, the classification of the schools and their location shifted to reflect the priorities of government officials. From predominantly graded schools in urban centers, rudimentary schools had now become the majority, with almost seven times as many as in 1916. Top US

Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013); Yoel Cordoví Núñez, *Magisterio y nacionalismo en las escuelas públicas de Cuba, 1899–1920* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias sociales, 2012).

[4] There are a few studies that have featured the education reforms as part of a larger study of the Dominican Republic or US imperialism. See Robin Lauren Derby, "The Magic of Modernity: Dictatorship and Civic Culture in the Dominican Republic, 1916–1962," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998); Juan Alfonseca, "El imperialismo norteamericano y las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural," *Revista Brasileira do Caribe* 14, no. 28 (2014): 371–400; Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the US Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); Angulo, *Empire and Education*; Marlin D. Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo: Settled, Unsettled and Resettled* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973).

officials boasted about improving attendance in schools by forty-five percent, increasing the appropriation for schools, and instituting summer schools for teacher training.[5] Dominican school officials also praised the changes in schools. In a report to the regional superintendent of the central department, a school inspector noted the transformation he observed, noting, "the campesino has already made a rapid change, until yesterday reluctant, an open enemy of the School is convinced that Instruction is the path that leads us to success sooner."[6]

Parental enthusiasm for the expansion of education was evident in the high turnout of enrollment and consistent attendance of their children, both resulting in the highest numbers in the country's history. And despite challenges, Dominican guardians found ways to keep their children safe from epidemics and traveled substantial distances to ensure their children attended school on a daily basis. Guardians recognized the importance of an education and praised the reforms, stating how their local schools developed their child's character and instilled valuable traits.[7] Along with molding their children and providing the students with values they felt were important, guardians also noted their children's progress in literacy, math, and other skills such as agriculture and manual labor. In a letter to the Dominican government, community members in Monte Cristi alleged public schools in their area "were elevated to such a degree of advancement," that like the sun, the schools illuminated the "dark fields of ignorance."

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[5] Juan Alfonseca, "Las maestras rurales del valle del Cibao, 1900–1935: Un acercamiento de los espacios de la enseñanza femenina en contextos campesinos de agro-exportación," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 32, no. 118 (2007): 389–390; US Military Government of Santo Domingo, *Santo Domingo: Its Past and Its Present Condition* (Santo Domingo, 1920): 31–37.

[6] "Informe que al Intendente de Enseñanza del Departamento Central rinde el Inspector del 49 Distrito Escolar, acerca de la labor del año lectivo 1920–1921," August 6, 1921, document no. 0134, exp. 1, leg. C_196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[7] Letter from guardians in Guayubín to the school inspector, March 10, 1920, document no. 0077–0079, exp. 2, leg. 18, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from students in Monte Cristi to Provisional President Juan B. Vicini Burgos, November 14, 1922, document no. 0191–0193, exp. 4, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

By 1920, school officials, education administrators, and US officials in the military government were all celebrating the successful implementation of the new education policy. Just four years later, however, only 30,000 students were attending public schools now located in a small number of cities.[8] In some areas, the local schools that had opened during the occupation were forced to shutter their doors permanently. Between 1920 to 1924, the school system in the Dominican Republic experienced a collapse generated by a confluence of factors related to the spread of epidemics and the precarity of school financing.

In those years, Dominican education administrators dealt with multiple outbreaks of epidemics and personnel shortages that caused temporary school closures. By June 1921, there were approximately 650 cases of smallpox, 500 cases of typhoid fever, and 300 cases of paratyphoid fever across a total population of about 900,000.[9] The situation grew to be so severe that, in 1922, ninety-six students in a school with a total enrollment of a hundred were sick with a virus. In most schools in Jarabacoa, a town in the central part of the country with about 10,000 residents, fewer than ten students were well enough to attend, forcing schools in the area to suspend instruction for three months in 1922.[10] Not only did these illnesses significantly impact

[8] "Education: Illiteracy," folder 4: Latin American Schools, box 3, Latin American General Records, 1911 – 1974, Burke Library Archives, Columbia University Libraries; See Appendix G, "Number of Students Enrolled in Public Schools, 1916–1924."

[9] The Dominican Republic was hit by a second wave of epidemics between 1920 and 1922. The first, described in chapter IV, lasted from 1918 to 1919. While cases of malaria, measles, mumps, dysentery, and various other infectious diseases existed, typhoid fever, chickenpox and smallpox were the chief concerns. In 1920, five children died of typhoid fever and the spread of the disease caused numerous school closures in the central region of the country. There were about 300 additional cases of smallpox in the more "remote country districts." Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, November 1, 1920, document no. 0510, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Quarterly Report, Department of Sanitation and Beneficence," exp. 6, leg. 57a, 1700235, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[10] When the illnesses could not be contained within a single town, school officials partnered with sanitary officers to close the majority of the schools in the region. Teachers and principals were not immune to the diseases, as they often lived in areas where they could also be exposed to the illnesses. "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; Box 760 of 1630; Subject File, 1911–1927; RG 45: Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library; NARA I; Letter from Inspector de Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, January 23, 1922, 1702343, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.

school operations and attendance, but they also compounded existing staffing issues that had been produced by the exponential growth of the rudimentary schools in the first place.[11]

However, the most significant issue that led to the system's sharp decline was linked to the financing of the newly expanded school system. As mentioned in previous chapters, schools represented a vehicle through which the military government could achieve its aims, and both US officials and Dominican education administrators were committed to increasing access to primary schools and instituting universal schooling in rural areas. US officials sought to completely modify Dominican society by instituting their ideologies around democracy and education, while Dominican education administrators saw rudimentary schools as essential tools for organizing Dominican society and turning campesinos into productive citizens. Thus, the expansion into rural communities was fundamental to the US and Dominican government's visions for the education system in the Dominican Republic. Both groups sought to extend the government's reach to the Dominican countryside, where the bulk of the population resided.

Still, this expansion was costly. Although both Dominican and US officials agreed on the importance of increasing access to schools in rural areas, the US military government determined the financial policy that buttressed the system's growth. At the start of the occupation, Governor Knapp was well aware of the dire economic situation: the national economy was bankrupt because the Dominican government still owed a significant debt to US creditors, and meanwhile the US government in Washington—preoccupied with World War I—had little funding to spare for its lower-ranking mission in the Dominican Republic. And while the Dominican economy

[11] As stated in chapter IV, education administrators resorted to lowering expectations for qualifications and hiring high school students to address an urgent need for teachers. Teacher recruitment and retention in rural communities proved to be one of the key issues facing the expanding system. See Rufus H. Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor;" Santo Domingo-Report O-in-C, Dept. Justice and Public Instruction. February 1, 1920 p. 12–13; Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to the Marine Occupation of Santo Domingo, 1916–1924; RG 127: Records of the United States Marine Corps; NARA I; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 35.

briefly experienced a war-time boom during the early years of the school expansion, it fell quickly during the post-WWI global economic crisis.[12]

Managing the tight economic constraints while also still seeking to generate lasting reforms, US officials sought ways to cut costs related to maintaining the expanded system. Instead of transplanting teachers from the US, as previous occupations had done, US officials opted to use local educators. However, as budgets shrank, US officials continued to finance the system's growth at the expense of Dominican teachers. Instead of paying living wages to teachers with few students in graded schools, US officials ordered that these schools be defunded in favor of founding rudimentary schools. The rudimentary schools would serve more students and employ only one or two teachers, who were typically paid fifty to seventy-five percent less than the teachers in graded schools.[13]

US officials also took advantage of the teachers' goodwill and sense of duty. In his quarterly report, Military Governor Snowden exulted, "the school service seemed to be excellent and all working toward the best end." Snowden mentioned running into women who volunteered to continue their teacherly duties without pay, if necessary; and, perceiving this as an encouraging fact, he noted, "They stated that they had been eliminated by the reduction budget and had no other way to pass the time and preferred to teach rather than do nothing. A letter of

[12] In 1918, the Dominican economy faced a downturn influenced by the reduced demand for Dominican exports, which caused a decrease in revenue from customs collections. Since the Dominican national government relied heavily on customs revenue for its income, both municipal and national budgets suffered immensely. See "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, July 1918," exp. 6, leg. 42, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[13] Principals and teachers in graded urban schools were paid as much as $100, while teachers working in rural schools made between $25 and $40. See Julio Ortega Frier, "Sección Oficial," *Revista de educación* 2 no. 1 (February 1920): 82–149.

commendation has been sent to each."[14] In a letter to Snowden, the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction A. T. Marix (1920–1921) confessed:

> There is no doubt that the question of teachers' salaries is a very real problem. Other departments of the government and business pay higher salaries and as a consequence the schools are losing some teachers. However, it will never be possible to pay teachers as much as the quality of their services might command in the open market, there must be an element of idealism in the motive of the best teachers. Those who have left are for the most part those whose motives have been almost wholly material, and to the present time, no great damage has been done. This department is confronted with the following problem. The funds available are limited, and the policy is to extend the schools as much as possible. If salaries are considerably increased the work of extension must be stopped.[15]

In his letter, Marix makes evident the military government's knowledge of the tenuous situation in the schools and the issue raised by insufficient teachers' salaries. Nevertheless, the military government chose to continue to fund the system's expansion rather than pay teachers the compensation they deserved.[16]

US officials and Dominican education administrators exploited paid labor from current employees along with volunteer labor from local associations such as the Sociedades Populares de Educación to minimize expenses. US officials touted how community groups built new schools and repaired existing ones at no cost to the government. In his quarterly report, Military Governor Robinson proudly noted, "the financial condition has not stood in the way of the

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[14] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31,1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[15] Letter from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, January 27, 1920, exp. 142, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[16] Colonel A. T. Marix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor from February 11, 1920 to April 30, 1920," exp. 47, leg. 109, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; It should be noted that in the spring of 1920, the department attempted a measure to both attract new teachers and incentivize others from leaving their posts by offering $15 bonuses every six months for those who performed "satisfactory work." Still, educators continued to leave the schools because of the school closures, unreliable compensation and demoralization resulting from the unstable system—and, by doing so, caused additional schools to close. See letter from the school inspector of San Juan to the regional superintendent of the southwestern department, January 14, 1922, 107630, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; Letter from the General Superintendent of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction, November 10, 1922, document no. 0467–0468, libro C392, 116055, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

activities of the Popular Education Societies." He reported that, despite the difficult conditions, these guardians "have undertaken the construction of a school building to replace the old one."[17] The military government claimed the schools as their own achievement, even though the societies built most of the new rural schools, which were constructed with locally sourced materials and financed by community members. Furthermore, education administrators also consciously relied on the free labor of guardians and community members when opening new schools. They ordered school inspectors to investigate areas "where the good disposition of guardians is noted to contribute" in order to identify locations that could be developed as cheaply as possible. [18]

Rural School in Santo Domingo.

Figure 5.1: Rural School in Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo in this context is used to mean Dominican Republic). Sarah MacDougall, "Santo Domingo's Second Dawn," *New York Times*, October 10, 1920, 12.

[17] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from April 1, 1922 to June 30, 1922," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I. Other US officials also cite the efforts of the guardians in their reports. See Lane, "Report on Public Instruction to Military Governor," 9; Lane, 21.

[18] Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to school inspectors, November 15, 1918, document no. 0041, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Along with reducing expenditures, US officials sought to fund the expansion and increase the system's budget by altering how schools were financed. Prior to the occupation, Dominican schools were funded by two revenue streams: first, each municipality allocated fifteen percent of their total revenue; and second, an assortment of indirect taxes called the patent tax.[19] In 1920, Snowden issued an executive order instituting a property tax that would replace the patent tax as a source of school funding. As a result, schools would be subsidized in three equal parts: the allotment from the national government, municipal allocations, and the new property tax. [20] Through the property tax, the military government sought to create a stable funding mechanism that was not tied to revenue generated from fluctuating customs taxes or indirect taxes. Doing so, it hoped to reduce the national government's role in supporting schools by increasing the amount of steady municipal contributions. Snowden declared that with the new policy, "the unsettled condition of the finances of the ayuntamientos [municipalities] are receiving their increased income." As municipal contributions would now come in fixed distributions, he noted "it is, therefore, desired that all ayuntamientos appropriate from their incomes the full amount due for public instruction."[21]

While early-twentieth century Dominican intellectuals and politicians had previously tried to implement policies to normalize private property and commercial agriculture, communal landholdings remained the primary practice until the property laws were implemented by the US

[19] The "Patent Tax" referred to a variety of indirect taxes, which affected imports, sales, church, licenses to operate businesses, and the sale of liquors and tobacco. See Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo*, 186.
[20] Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, October 21, 1920, exp. 100, leg. 40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; By instituting this new system, US officials believed they would be making school budgets more efficient and consistent, thereby preventing any future disruptions due to financial issues. See Samuel Guy Inman, "Santo Domingo, Old and New," *The Pan-American Magazine* 32, no. 2 (1921): 120.
[21] Colonel A.T. Matrix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor: February to April 1920," exp. 47, leg. 109, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police to the president of a municipality, November 1, 1920, document no. 00886 and 0888, exp. 1, leg. C315, 112309, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

military government.[22] And even though the military government claimed it enacted the property tax to "provide revenues in a manner that would reduce the burden of taxation borne by the poorer classes," the policy did not live up to this expectation.[23] The property tax caused financial strain to small landowners and generated peasant resistance because it attempted to partition *terrenos comuneros*, communal properties. Since the colonial era, Dominican society was largely agricultural, with prominent farming and ranching industries and a large self-sufficient rural peasantry.[24] Thus, the property tax caused widespread opposition because it attempted to replace this long-standing tradition.

Although the military government saw an increase in property tax revenue for schools between 1919 and 1920, the situation changed rapidly the following year. The post-war economic crisis transformed into an economic depression as the price of sugar plummeted on the global market, impacting the majority of Dominican exports. The external issues soon compounded internal economic problems caused by the new property tax. Due to the depression and the minimal revenue generated from the taxes, the school budget for 1920 was even smaller

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[22] Early twentieth century Dominican rural small farmers were mostly autonomous and engaged in communal land sharing through *terrenos comuneros* and casual land tenure agreements. Because of the large amounts of available free land, rural farmers controlled their land and were able to maintain their subsistence with limited interference from the state. Prior to the US occupation, Dominican rural farmers were accustomed to minimizing state influence with the help of regional caudillos, who offered protection against the state in turn for their support. Because the authority of the state had not previously extended to their daily lives, the property tax and other land reforms faced massive resistance. Richard Turits, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 71–79; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 107–113; Julie Franks, "The Gavilleros of the East: Social Banditry as Political Practice in the Dominican Sugar Region, 1900–1924," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 8, no. 2 (1995): 162–163.

[23] Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, September 21, 1919, exp. 18, leg_40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Rufus H. Lane, "Charges of Dominican Tariff Commission," April 22, 1920, folder 4, box 3, Latin American General Records, Burke Archives; Pedro L. San Miguel and Phillip Berryman, "Peasant Resistance to State Demands in the Cibao during the US Occupation," *Latin American Perspectives* 22, no. 3 (1995): 51; Letter from the Department of Finance and Commerce to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, March 22, 1922, exp. 38, leg. 112, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Untitled memorandum, exp. 157, caja 111, 1700217, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[24] During the colonial era, many slaves that escaped bondage formed autonomous communities with poor colonists. See Turits, *Foundations of Despotism,* 26.

than it was in 1919.[25] The near-insolvent municipalities could not contribute much either, as they could not even afford to pay their teachers' salaries or the rent for the homes in which most schools were located. The financial crisis impelled journalists to entreat their fellow citizens to "pay the property taxes so that schools can flourish once again and educate your children."[26] As a stopgap measure, Snowden provided $100,000 of his own money to keep the system afloat in the fall of 1920—money, he noted, that "should have been provided by the Ayuntamientos of the Republic."[27] A few months later, property tax collections fell again by twenty-four percent. With the gravity of the financial situation becoming untenable, Snowden was forced to face the difficult question of how to preserve the military government's gains in the institution it considered most fundamental to the success of the occupation.

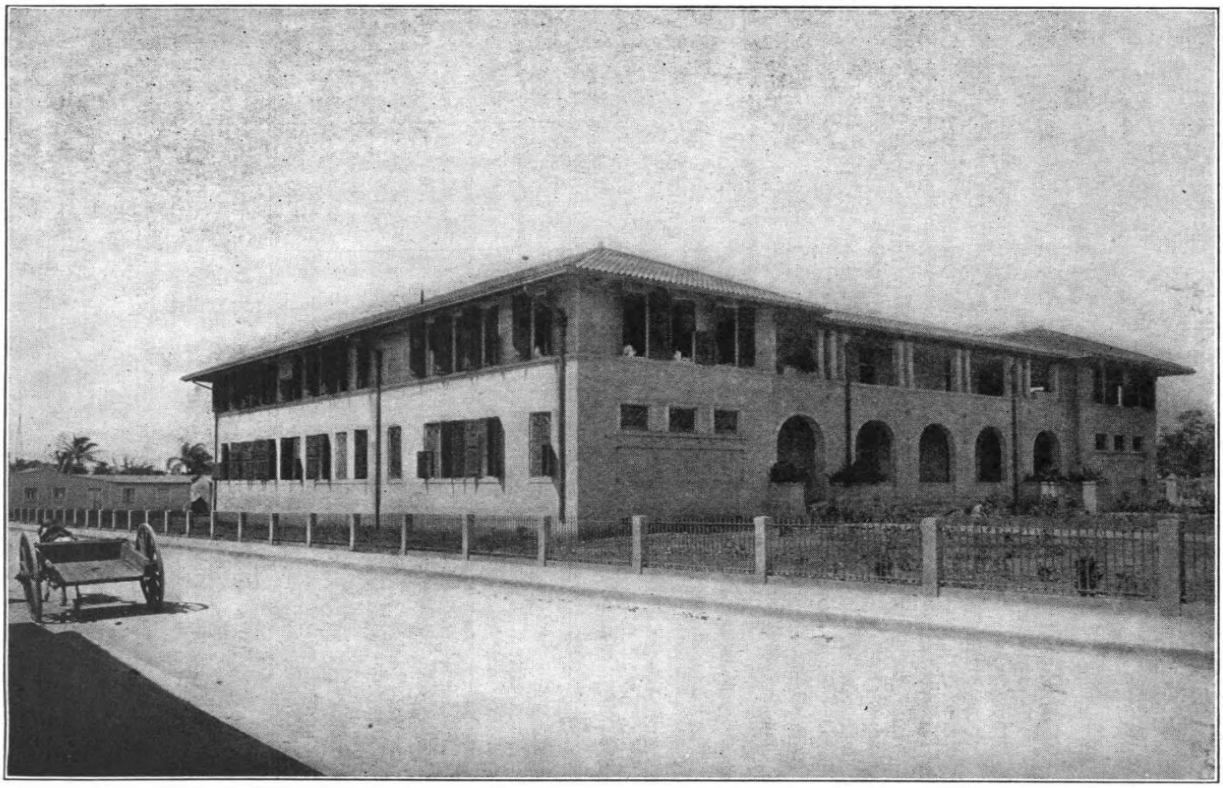
With their budget depleted, US officials nevertheless continued to finance projects they deemed vital, rather than invest national funds to preserve the entire system. One key initiative spearheaded by the military government was the construction of one-room and two-room schoolhouses. By continuing to fund schoolhouses made of sturdy concrete and wood, despite the economic constraints, US officials hoped to ensure that the material representations of their modernization project would carry on as planned. Schoolhouses would provide indisputable and

[25] Memorandum from the Municipal Adjustment Committee to Colonel B. H. Fuller, Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, November 29, 1919, exp. 14, leg. 73, 1700211, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Untitled memorandum, exp 157, caja 111, 1700217, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo*, 190.

[26] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction, November 28, 1922, document no. 0187, exp. 4, leg. C172, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Editorial: El impuesto escolar," *Ecos del Valle*, May 10, 1923, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[27] The leaders of the military government were generally hopeful that the property tax would help municipalities to fund the schools more effectively without national assistance. Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, exp. 139, leg. 40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, October 21, 1920, exp. 100, leg. 40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Colonel A.T. Matrix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor: from May to July 1920," exp. 6, leg. 56, 1700207, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.

long-lasting evidence that would distinguish their reforms from previous efforts, even as the system was in decline and student enrollment was decreasing. In correspondence to Snowden, the aid to the US Secretary of the Navy congratulated him for the "great improvement" made in the school system. The aid notified Snowden that a forthcoming article would profile the effort, noting that "it would be particularly good to have some pictures of the school houses which were in use before the occupation as well as pictures of the school houses now in use." He concluded the letter with the prediction that "the improvement in the schools will be one of the most striking things in the story and a number of photographs of this sort will be valuable." [28]



Casa-Escuela en la ciudad de Santo Domingo

Figure 5.2: Casa-Escuela en la ciudad de Santo Domingo (Schoolhouse in the city of Santo Domingo). Secretaría de Estado de lo Interior y Policía, *Censo de la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Gobierno Militar, 1923), 115.

[28] Letter from the aid to the US Secretary of the Navy to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, December 15, 1920, document no. 0141–0142, exp. 1, leg. 36, 503614, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Between 1918 and 1920, the military government spent over $50,000 on school furniture and over $1,000,000 on seven schoolhouses, each of which held two to six classrooms.[29] Even in the fall of 1920, in the midst of the economic depression, the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police informed the leader of a municipality that the military government planned to continue to fund the construction of schoolhouses. In his letter, he notified the local official of the military government's intention to spend $1.5 million on schools across the country. In return, the struggling municipal governments were expected to support the maintenance of the school system on their own. The Secretary ended the letter by ordering the municipal councils to "give all the necessary help to Public Instruction in order to banish ignorance and infiltrate into the minds of the new youth the best ideals for the future of the Republic." [30]

The economic issues worsened in the spring of 1921. Running low on municipal funds and unable to receive further aid from the national treasury, the Department of Public Instruction was forced to reduce their $1.3 million budget by half a million dollars. Starting on May 31, 1921, the military government ordered the suspension of the entire school system until further notice. Inspectors and regional superintendents were expected to help organize the school closures but would be terminated from their positions by mid-June. The office of the General Superintendent would remain open only until the end of the month. [31]

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[29] Letter from Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Secretary of the Navy, "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo for the Months of April, May and June 1918," exp. 6, leg. 42, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Sarah MacDougall, "Santo Domingo's Second Dawn," *New York Times*, October 10, 1920, 12.

[30] Letter from the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police to the president of a municipality, November 1, 1920, document no. 0888, exp. 1, leg. C315, 112309, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN. Even in correspondence from 1922, government officials continue to mention plans to build wooden schoolhouses. See letter from the school inspector in Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, May 22, 1922, 1702343, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.

[31] Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo,* 191; "Changes Made in 1921," exp. 45, leg_103, 1700211, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Monte Cristi to the principals of the

A permanent solution came a few weeks later. The military government announced it would reduce monthly school expenditures by over seventy percent. It would do so by permanently closing art academies, professional schools for girls, night schools, and preparatory schools for teachers, as well as 236 rudimentary schools. The military government also suspended all laboratory work in the university and closed the country's two normal schools, both of which had been founded in the nineteenth century. Further reductions were made toward the end of 1921. The military government merged districts, which reduced the number of school officials, and closed additional rudimentary schools.[32] Changes were made to the remaining rudimentary schools across the country, which would now hold two four-hour shifts per day, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

While budget cuts made it possible to continue paying the rent for the schools and the salaries for the inspectors and regional superintendents, it was far from enough. The Dominican school system faced another wave of school closures in the fall of 1922 as a result of continued economic difficulties. This time, the military government stipulated that municipalities could open "provided that the amount collected from Property Tax is enough to cover the amount necessary for the payment of management and teaching staff."[33] The military government required municipalities to provide the necessary funding on their own through the property tax,

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schools in the jurisdiction, May 3, 1921, document no. 0179, exp. 1: 1921, 112932, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Santiago to the principals of the schools in the jurisdiction, May 13, 1921, document no. 0099, exp. 1, 116073, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[32] Letter from the Military Governor of Santo Domingo to the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, June 15, 1921, exp. 21, leg. 10, 1700224, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries-Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; Box 760 of 1630; RG 45; NARA I; Letter from the school inspector of Jánico to the president of the municipal government of Jánico, December 3, 1921, document no. 0099, exp. 1, 116073, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[33] Letter from the school inspector of Monte Cristi to the principals of the schools in the jurisdiction, September 27, 1922, document no. 0282, exp. 1: 1922, 112932, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo*, 192.

teacher salaries included. Otherwise, schools in the district would be closed indefinitely. Land tax allocations fell throughout 1921. School districts that were unable to afford their entire operating costs tried to keep the schools open longer by closing some schools and functioning on a month-to-month basis with the remaining ones.[34]

Although schools officially reopened in October 1921, they did not resume operation at their previous capacities. Rumors circulated among education officials, and speculation swirled over whether the system would cease to exist. Journalists reported that they were notified "by a well-informed person, that the entire school system will soon be suspended." Education administrators attempted to assuage these concerns and address the rumors circulating amongst their employees.[35] Nonetheless, enrollment decreased significantly. In only a month's time, the northeastern region saw the number of students reduced by 539. Enrollment in the north also fell by 1,500 students. Regional superintendents offered several explanations for the drastic decrease in enrollment, from gavillerismo to public health concerns.[36] In order to reduce spending in light of the decreased enrollment, education administrators ordered rudimentary schools with fewer than fifty students to close and merged districts with low matriculation.

The choice to fund the schoolhouses rather than the school system exemplifies the priorities of the US military government in the Dominican Republic. US officials were more interested in preserving physical representations of their work than in ensuring that Dominican

[34] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction, March 8, 1923, document no. 0073–0074, exp. 4, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[35] "De instrucción pública," *Ecos del Valle*, December 30, 1921, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the northeastern department to the school inspectors in the department, June 3, 1922, document no. 0383, exp. 1, leg. C375, 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[36] Letter from the school inspector of Santiago to the principals of the rudimentary schools in Santiago, August 25, 1921, document no. 0102–103, exp. 1, 116073, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

children had access to their local schools. The schoolhouses symbolized the US's success in educating Dominicans and modernizing antiquated mentalities and traditions for posterity. In their view, this was significantly more important than sustaining the short-term gains in academic instruction produced by the rudimentary schools. Their paternalism informed their perceptions of Dominicans as children who needed guidance from the US military government. Thus, it is no surprise that US officials perceived the municipal governments as mismanaging the national funds allocated to them to plug the gaps created by the property tax. As a result, the US military government refused to offer additional funds to finance the school system and instead redirected the Dominican national funds to the construction of schoolhouses.[37]

Nevertheless, this policy had damaging effects on the system's stakeholders. This strategy brought forth the collapse of the school system, which entailed economic and social consequences for school officials as employees and limited schooling opportunities for the nation's students. The school closures disproportionately impacted rural areas of the country since that was where most of the schools were located. Therefore, as the government introduced budget cuts, teachers and principals in rural areas felt the devastating impacts most keenly. Facing these issues, many protested the school closures by conveying their sentiments to their supervisors.[38] Those who remained in their positions experienced irregular compensation, often going months without a paycheck, in addition to dealing with other issues related to their salaries. In a letter from a school inspector to his supervisor, the official noted: "The increase in salaries, above all, of the rural staff members is very necessary at this time as there is a shortage

[37] Letter from the Assistant Administering the Affairs of the Department of Finance and Commerce for the Military Government to the Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, February 21, 1922, exp. 21, leg. 22, 1700227, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Clausner, *Rural Santo Domingo*, 191–192.
[38] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction, November 10, 1922, document no. 0467–0468, libro C392, 116055, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

of personnel to fill the vacancies that have occurred in rural schools."[39] Those outside of the education system were also well aware of the hardships teachers faced. In a letter to Snowden, a local businessman described teachers' salaries as "insignificant and insufficient to live off of." Unable to pay for food or housing, many teachers decided to leave their jobs in the schools and find employment elsewhere.[40]

Moreover, salary issues did not simply vanish once teachers left their posts. Josefa C. de Rodríguez, a former principal and teacher at a graded school in Santo Domingo, petitioned the Military Governor about a fraud committed against her, in which another individual was collecting her income from earlier that year. In her letter, de Rodríguez asserted, "there is no cause that justifies the delay, and it is especially damaging to me, since I am a poor woman, missing the salary that I enjoyed for my assiduous work in the teaching profession for an uninterrupted period of 34 years."[41] Similar to many countries at the time, teaching in the Dominican Republic was a feminized profession, overwhelmingly dominated by women, with most working in rudimentary schools. As rudimentary teachers, women received the lowest salary in the school system and earned significantly less than their male colleagues, who often worked as principals, school inspectors, or superintendents.

School inspectors faced a similar disruption in pay and financial instability, causing many to vocalize their anguish to officials in the government. Rafael Sánchez, an inspector in

[39] Letter from the school inspector of Guayubín to the regional superintendent of the northern department, November 11, 1920, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[40] Letter from J. Gasso y Gasso to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, January 16, 1920, exp. 142, leg. 64, 1700202, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Colonel A.T. Matrix, "Report Submitted to the Military Governor," exp. 47, leg. 109, 1700216, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[41] Letter from Josefa C. de Rodríguez to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, May 10, 1922, exp. 79, leg. 73, 1700211, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Juan Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum in the Feminization of Teaching in the Dominican Republic, 1860–1935," in *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession* eds. Regina Cortina and Sonsoles San Román (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Jarabacoa, mentioned that the delayed paychecks had caused him to "not even have enough to pay for food."[42] Inspectors believed their roles were necessary and considered the school closures detrimental not only to their personal livelihoods, but to the country as a whole. Writing to the regional superintendent of the northern department, school inspector G. Jiménez Herrera protested the conditions he endured as a result of the school closures. In his letter, Jiménez declared he was writing on behalf of those who were "owed a considerable salary," claiming that he sought to bring attention to their maltreatment in order to "generate a change to the horrible and inhuman condition of said employees."[43] Jiménez described how these school officials were fathers with wives and children to provide for, now without the resources to pay for essentials. He noted that inspectors who resided outside of the towns they worked faced an additional financial strain, as many had amassed a considerable debt from sleeping and eating in hotels over the course of the year. As a result, these men were subject to "hunger, nudity and, in general, the most dire economic situation." These conditions forced them to borrow money from loved ones just to scrape by.

Thus, Jiménez argued that the Department of Public Instruction had an obligation to fulfill its agreement and pay its outstanding debt to the inspectors, since the officials had neither resigned from their positions nor been fired. He concluded the letter by asserting that it would be both "illegal and unjust" for inspectors who had worked twelve or more consecutive years to now be forced to resign because of the hunger and poverty caused by the disrupted pay. Jiménez pointed to the hypocrisy of the top officials, asking rhetorically, "in such a situation, are the

[42] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, March 24, 1920, document no. 0242, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[43] Letter from the school inspector of San José de las Matas to the regional superintendent of the northern department, June 12, 1923, document no. 0440–0441,104819, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

chiefs of the branch morally qualified to demand loyalty and compliance from the Inspectors in the performance of the functions of their positions?" While inspectors like Jiménez saw their responsibility as educators, they understood their duties were being obstructed by the leaders of the school system and the military government.

Schools and Community-Based Citizenship

By 1922, only a fraction of the schools opened during the US occupation continued to operate throughout the country. As a response to the failing system, many lower- and middle-class Dominicans attempted to remedy the situation by working with the government to help resolve the issue or by contributing to existing grassroots efforts to preserve schools in their communities. Dominicans organized through government sponsored associations or independently to actively participate in maintaining their local schools. These guardians and community members believed that their obligation as citizens lay in being actively involved in providing schooling opportunities at the local level.

This concept of citizenship was rooted in the notion of an expressed relationship between the people and their governing body, whether it be local or national. Non-elite Dominicans believed their relationship to their local community allowed them certain rights and required from them a specific set of responsibilities. Instead of being recognized and bestowed by the state, this notion of citizenship inhered in the culture of the working-classes and pre-dated the occupation. It is consistent with those of other subaltern groups, who have historically "forged" their citizenship despite governmental limitations on who is deemed fit.[44] Although Dominican

[44] This idea of citizenship, one that is expressed through action but not necessarily granted by the state, is manifest in subaltern groups throughout the world. Scholars have found that marginalized communities have long acted on and established their citizenship before state actors claim to provide "pathways" to it through laws. Instead of learning how to be citizens through government institutions like schools, these groups practiced self-asserted citizenship. See Cally Waite's forthcoming book, *The Promise of the Historically Black College and University: Educating Citizens, 1865–1920*; Teresita Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, *1880–1916*

and US government officials sought to teach campesinos to feel a deeper affinity, deference, and allegiance to the state, many lower and middle-class Dominicans already felt a strong sense of obligation to their community. They exercised their citizenship by advocating for that to which they believed both they and the children in their neighborhood were entitled. However, their sense of duty and rights were grounded in their local municipality, rather than in the broader nation. Through their actions with schools, many Dominicans manifested their understanding of community-based citizenship.

Prior to the US occupation, Dominican campesinos and urban working-class families had a long history of engaging with the state in order to advocate for the needs of their families and of their broader communities.[45] When the US military government and Dominican education administrators offered to provide municipalities with resources to build schools, guardians from all classes agreed to cooperate by subsidizing the state-funded schools with their labor, donating supplementary funds, and helping to supply and maintain the location and materials for the schools.[46] They believed that access to schools was an essential right to which everyone was entitled. Thus, it was the responsibility of the adults in the community to provide and maintain schools and the duty of the children to attend them.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Martha Jones, *Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Emmanuelle Saada, *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation and Citizenship in the French Colonies* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).

[45] In her book, Martínez-Vergne analyzes how non-elite Dominicans expressed their citizenship and advocated for their rights to education, property, and respect in the period prior to the occupation. See Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 147–168.

[46] This is similar to what occurred in prerevolutionary Mexico. See Elsie Rockwell, "Keys to Appropriation: Rural Schooling in Mexico," in *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice* eds. Bradley A. Levinson, Douglas E. Foley, and Dorothy C. Holland (Albany: SUNY University Press, 1996).

From the start of the occupation, Dominican guardians in both rural and urban areas supported the efforts to expand schools in their neighborhoods because they valued how schools provided the students with basic skills in literacy and mathematics. Aside from enrolling their children in schools in record numbers and bringing them to school every day, guardians also participated in school affairs and attended school ceremonies like public examinations.[47] A practice since the colonial era, these examinations served to demonstrate the child's abilities and exhibit what students had learned to the rest of their community. As Eugenia Roldán Vera argues, along with serving as a culminating exercise, exams were significant because they were a way for teachers to demonstrate their work to the public and for students to showcase themselves as future citizens in their local area.[48] In Pinal Quemado, a rural town in the central part of the country, guardians of about half of the students who performed their oral exam were present. In Constanza, another rural town in the central part of the country, 109 guardians of 111 students (about seventy percent of the total number enrolled in the school) attended the exams.[49]

Guardians understood the value of education not only for academic instruction, but also for instilling in children the values they needed to effectively navigate their changing country. Dominicans from all social classes saw it as central to the progress of their community and for their children's futures. Like US officials and Dominican education administrators, guardians

[47] Municipalities sometimes held parent assemblies where local school officials and administrators would make announcements about the progress of the schools. At one of these events, approximately 50 guardians attended. See letter from the school inspector in Monte Cristi to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, March 2, 1923, document 0062, June 19, 1920, exp. 2, leg. 2, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

[48] Eugenia Roldán Vera, "'Towards a Logic of Citizenship: Public Examinations in Elementary Schools in Mexico, 1788–1848: State and Education Before and After Independence," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 4 (2010): 511–524.

[49] Letter from a parent in San Francisco de Macoris to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, September 15, 1919, 111487, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; School inspector of Jarabacoa, "Report to the regional superintendent of the central department," August 6, 1921, document no. 0135–0139, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector in Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, August 12, 1920, document no. 0409–0413, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

supported the growth of schools because they also believed education to be transformative for their children's economic and social futures. [50] Dominicans understood that access to education was essential to the success not only of their individual family, but of the larger community. Therefore, when the school system collapsed, Dominican guardians organized to protect the institution they valued so highly. As one guardian remarked, "A family man as I am, fully aware of my deberes, I have never allowed my children to stop fulfilling their deber to attend school."[51] As guardians, they believed it was their *deber*, or duty, to ensure their children received an education, whether through schools funded with resources from the national government or their local community, or within their own homes.

Many guardians and students also understood the government's duty as that of assisting communities in their efforts to provide access to public schooling. They believed it was within their rights to request officials to open new schools or reestablish old ones. Dominican guardians and students wrote letters appealing to the essential function of education in creating discipline and fighting ignorance, respectfully asking top government officials to reopen their local schools. One of the letters, signed by fifty students in the northwestern city of Monte Cristi, described the "grave responsibility to reorganize our administrative order" and asked for the government's help to fix this "important and indispensable branch of the tree of public administration." [52]

While signed by "students," the letter was likely drafted by members of the community and signed on their behalf by their guardians or other members of Monte Cristi, and thus

[50] Schools also served as spaces for "cultural appropriation," where individuals used the skills and values they learned in school for their own purposes. In this way, schools served as spaces to negotiate between the state's central authority and the desires and needs of the rural community. See Rockwell, "Keys to Appropriation: Rural Schooling in Mexico."
[51] Letter from a guardian in Santiago to the regional superintendent of the northern department, February 16, 1919, document no. 0266, exp. 2, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.
[52] Letter from students in Monte Cristi to Provisional President Juan B. Vicini Burgos, November 14, 1922, document no. 0191–0193, exp. 4, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

represented the thoughts and concerns of a larger population. The letter expressed their collective hope that, with government support, "the educational institution, crystalline source where we go to quench the terrible thirst of ignorance, [could] be circulated again through the now dry classroom sources." They noted that restoring the school system to its previous position was essential to "preserv[ing] our glorious people from falling in the disastrous chaos of corruption and vice" that would be the fate of their society in the absence of schools. Describing their call for change as universal, they noted how "the people cry out from one end of the country to the other" asking officials to address the issues in the schools. The authors closed the letter with their hopes, signing, "For the prosperity of the nation, for your progress and personal well-being and for the success of your management."

Others wrote letters to protest decisions made by school officials. Guardians in Guayubín wrote to assert their disagreement with their local school inspector's suggestion to separate the co-educational school into two smaller schools. They began the letter stating, "we address ourselves in a frank and spontaneous exposition before you and your hierarchical superior." They clarified that the "signatories neither feel, nor want, nor approve" the suggestion to separate the schools because doing so would create two schools that would lack the necessary student enrollment and would therefore be forced to close. They argued that closing the schools would inflict "moral damage" on the town, as it would impoverish the general level of education. This outcome would then harm the students, who would lose their school, as well as injure the teacher, to whom the guardians felt a genuine sense of gratitude. [53]

[53] Letter from guardians in Guayubín to the school inspector and the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, March 10, 1920, document no. 0077–0079, exp. 2, leg. 18, 115459, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from students in Monte Cristi to Provisional President Juan B. Vicini Burgos, November 14, 1922, document no. 0191–0193, exp. 4, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

Some who were dissatisfied with the state of the schools and the closures appealed more forcefully to the government. A group of middle-class guardians from La Joya, a small rural town in the northeast, wrote to their regional superintendent demanding the adoption of several reforms to their local schools. In response to various requests the regional superintendent had made to them, the guardians declared: "we should not be made to perform certain demands, or rather: we do not accept them!" They asserted that the only school that did function, did absolutely nothing to brighten their children's future prospects. The guardians demanded several changes, including restoring previously eliminated classes, hiring a "manual labor" instructor for their daughters, building a new schoolhouse, and appointing a new treasurer so they could be better informed about what investments were being made on their behalf. [54] In their complaints, guardians also mentioned their discontent with corporal punishment as the disciplinary method favored by the current school officials. [55]

Unfortunately, letter writing did not always generate change. The underfunded municipal governments continued to operate at a deficit because they still could not produce enough revenue from the property tax. This caused some community members to take the schools into their own hands. In some schools that were scheduled to close for financial reasons, guardians and community members offered to take on the expenses necessary to maintain their local schools. Former teachers and other volunteers offered to teach the grades that were being cut. Private individuals stepped in to fill gaps in staffing and funding not only to promote ideas about democracy but because they understood that schools were essential to providing children with

[54] Letter from guardians in La Joya to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, July 15, 1922, document no. 0451–452, exp. 1, leg. 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN. Alfonseca notes that middle class families often demanded a comprehensive education for their daughters. See Alfonseca, "Society and Curriculum," 229.
[55] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the regional superintendents and school inspectors in the country, March 5, 1920, document no. 0266 and 0261, exp. 1, leg. C_315, 112309, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

literacy, mathematics, and other basic skills.[56] Although some Dominicans kept their children in private schools or *escuelas particulares* during the occupation, others transferred their children to private schools as a way to circumvent the reduced availability of public schools.[57]

These stakeholders' response was grounded in their limited expectations for what the government should provide them and their community. For the most part, Dominican guardians believed in self-reliance and understood that they and their local communities would assume the task of establishing and maintaining schools, often independently from the government.[58] Yet, it was also common for many communities to request that privately founded schools be recognized and designated as official public schools so that they could benefit from greater resources and municipal funds. In a letter addressed to the regional superintendent of the northern department, Ramon A. Jorge wrote on behalf of several community members in the city of Santiago asking that a local school of workers be transferred to the public school system:

> currently, there is a private school (directed by us) here; and it is at our discretion that once declared Official, the worker who due to his scarce resources does not allow him to pay a monthly tuition, will go to that classroom with marked interest, since that he is going to receive useful knowledge there for new vital orientations.[59]

As the military government sought to expand into rural communities while at the same time reducing expenditures, government officials used these opportunities to expand the numbers of schools that fell under the aegis of the state.

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[56] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.
[57] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," 22; José Luis Sáez, *Autoridad para educar: Historia de la escuela católica dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2008), 65–71; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.
[58] Much like communities of ex-slaves in the postbellum southern US. See James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 5.
[59] Letter from Ramon A. Jorge to the regional superintendent of the northern department, June 1919, document no. 389–391, exp. 2, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

The value of self-determination was foundational to how many lower and middle-class Dominican guardians and community members understood their role in creating schools. While communities accepted financial assistance from the government, this was often understood as a supplement to what communities themselves should already be providing. Guardians were motivated by a deep desire to control and sustain schools for their children, and they viewed the government's role as purely auxiliary: it simply aided their own efforts by providing teachers' salaries and limited financial support. In a letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa, the official noted how the communities in the rural towns of Pedregal and Buena Vista had already built two schoolhouses, fully furnished them, and paid the salary for a teacher whom they approved of and felt would pose no harm to their children. He noted how this was quite remarkable, since "they are mostly poor guardians and they barely manage to keep their children clean and has provided [the teacher] with his corresponding books and notebooks."

In other instances, guardians would build a school, furnish it, and then ask the government to contribute by paying a small sum toward the teacher's salary. The same school inspector from Jarabacoa noted that a few guardians "strongly ask that this council get the small sum of $ 120 gold to pay the two teachers during those three months of work, an insignificant sum, it can be said since they contributed the largest contingent of resources as previously demonstrated."[60] This practice of supporting the local school through community efforts was well-established prior to the US occupation. At the turn of the century, Dominicans would petition town councils to ask them to appoint teachers or "confer municipal status on schools they themselves had formed."[61] Dominican guardians were already accustomed to creating their

[60] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to municipal government in the area, Julio 31, 1920, document no. 0391–0392, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[61] Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 148.

own schools and simply enlisting the government's help in finding a teacher or recognizing a privately formed school as part of the public system.

Since government funds primarily covered teachers' salaries, many communities were able to continue to provide schooling opportunities for the children in their area despite the economic difficulties which caused a considerable number of public schools to close. As the third military governor, Samuel S. Robinson (1921–1922), noted in a 1922 report: "The financial condition has not stood in the way of the activities of the Popular Education Societies."[62] The military governor observed how guardians continued their construction of schools and how teachers, many of them female, continued their work by volunteering their services despite losing their jobs due to budget cuts.

The construction of schools as well as their furnishing and maintenance were chiefly grassroots, community-based efforts. With local associations such as the Sociedades Populares de Educación, guardians set up the schools, either by building them with volunteer labor and supplies or by co-opting locations offered by community members, sometimes free of charge. [63] As a school inspector in Jarabacoa noted: "the Popular Societies that you set up in the District have, for the most part, the local land, banks, etc. They are only waiting for a teacher assisted

[62] "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from April 1, 1922 to June 30, 1922," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I; "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from October 1, 1921 to December 31, 1921," W-A-7 Allied Countries- Santo Domingo, Reports of the Military Governor; RG 45; NARA I.

[63] These efforts were visible throughout the country, particularly in rural areas. See letter from the school inspector in Bajabonico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, February 15, 1919, document no. 0113–0114, exp. 2, leg. 1_726, 100776, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the regional superintendent of the southwestern department to the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, November 7, 1918, document no. 0259, Nov, exp. 1, leg. 74, 110437, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to from principal in rudimentary school #4 in Yami, October 19, 1919, document no. 0622, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

with fiscal funds."[64] In most cases, the government's role was limited to providing the funds with which to pay the teacher. One school official noted the enthusiasm with which the community members helped, remarking "they gladly agreed to give me a good house within 20 days according to the plan I presented, made with wood from the country and with its corresponding toilet, garden etc."[65] These associations not only built the schools top to bottom but also furnished them and built tables and chairs for the children. While some Dominicans joined the Sociedades Populares de Educación, which partnered officially with the Department of Public Instruction, this was simply one formalized effort, representative of a broader, pre-existing effort.[66]

Dominican guardians and community members understood themselves as having a set of responsibilities to their local community, along with the prerogative to defend their rights when they were infringed upon. Dominicans practiced their citizenship by protecting that to which they believed they were entitled. Since their citizenship was tied to schools, non-elite Dominicans believed had the right to control what the education landscape looked like in their communities, voice their opinions, and participate actively in the concerns of their community schools. Guardians frequently wrote letters to school officials and education administrators asking them to modify the curriculum, requesting a change of teacher, or asking to change a school's location. Community members in Dajao, for example, wrote a letter to the school inspector about the principal of the local school who "does not have sufficient intellectual and pedagogical

[64] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, September 22, 1919, document no. 0614, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[65] Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the regional superintendent of the central department, April 30, 1921, document no. 0097, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[66] For examples of other associations in the pursuit of education or other causes during the turn of the century, see Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Sociedades, cofradías, escuelas y otras corporaciones dominicanas* (Santo Domingo: Editora Educativa Dominicana, 1975).

knowledge to teach." Moving forward, they requested that educators pass an exam verifying their competency.[67]

A letter from guardians in La Joya stated how keenly they were aware of the fact that they were being asked "for resources for the work of a schoolhouse" and had contributed to funds despite seeing that "nothing has been done." For that reason, they demanded that a new treasurer be appointed and supplied with the funds, "so that we know who and what investment is made of the fruit of our work." [68] Community members believed they were entitled to be involved in the finances of their local school and demanded inclusion in the school's affairs. Since they understood their involvement as a right, they believed they were justified in resisting efforts they felt were imposed on them or that they disagreed with, such as the military government's ban on religion in schools and the co-educational policies explored in the previous chapter.

Lower- and middle-class Dominicans were quite familiar with their legal rights as they pertained to education and savvily used systems to defend themselves. [69] They wrote letters citing school laws to make their points, appealed for redress from school officials, and pursued further recourse if government officials failed to act. As a way of underscoring their determination to address their issues, some guardians concluded their letters by threatening

[67] Letter from guardians in Bayaguana to the school inspector, May 24, 1926, document no. 0217, exp. 8, leg. 3, 115325, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[68] This was also something that was seen prior to the occupation. See Martínez-Vergne, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic*, 147; Letter from guardians to the regional superintendent of the northeastern department, July 15, 1922, document no. 0451–452, exp. 1, leg. 116003, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[69] It is crucial to note here that their engagement with the state was not limited to the realm of education. Working class Dominicans engaged with the state and government institutions about property rights, as well. See Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*; This is similar to Puerto Rico where parents wrote letters complaining about education administrators and school faculty to top government officials. They challenged top-down notions of morality, as well as the notion that civilization and its values were being brought to them. As del Moral also finds, parents had expectations and defended them. del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*, 118.

government officials that if they did not hear a response, they would find a lawyer "to defend us from that injustice." [70] One guardian wrote to education administrators about the illegal application of the compulsory school law. He described how the school inspector of the area was compelling him to enroll the girl under his care in the local school, despite the fact that he had already made other arrangements for her education. Demonstrating his familiarity with the education code, the guardian asserted: "by virtue of the provisions of Article 2 of the Compulsory Instruction Law, I am paying Professor Luis Monsanto so that at the time that he is free of classes, he has the girl Brígida Rodriguez who is under my tutelage." He continued by asking the official "to enlighten me as to whether the aforementioned article is repealed and whether you can force me to enroll the girl in a public school, satisfying, as I am satisfying, the prescriptions of the Law." [71]

Along with defending their rights as they related to schooling, Dominican guardians also used other government systems to uphold their notions of honor, morality, and respect in schools. Guardians expected that both they and their children be treated with respect and—if they were not—contended that the school officials should feel *vergüenza*, embarrassment or shame. Writing to the regional superintendent, a group of guardians declared, "Until now, we had not been willing to try it in this way because we believed that she [the teacher] would have a little more vergüenza." [72] But when guardians felt a lack of respect or noticed that a school official's unprofessionalism went unaddressed, they demanded that the person be investigated

[70] A letter from guardians in Sabana Iglesia said that a lawyer would be hired "to defend us from that injustice" if there was no response. See letter from guardians in Sabana Iglesia to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 6, 1919, document no. 0348–0349, exp. 3, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[71] Letter from a guardian in Santiago to the regional superintendent of the northern department, March 26, 1919, document 0310, exp. 2, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[72] Letter from guardians in Sabana Iglesia to the regional superintendent of the northern department, May 6, 1919, document no. 0348–0349, exp. 3, leg. 1_683, 100729, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

and possibly removed from their position. One mother, upset with how local school officials had dealt with her complaint about a case of physical abuse against her child, petitioned to open an investigation into the municipal government. She noted how officials unsuccessfully attempted to suppress her complaints, alleging that "the aforementioned inspector allowed this act of savages to be overlooked, and this Mayor's Office, to whom I also complained, ignored my grievance."[73] Guardians often wrote complaints against school officials and demanded investigations if their child was mistreated or abused. One guardian appealed to school officials to "do justice with respect to the misconduct of Professor Eledoro Duran and the mistreatment he did to my youngest daughter." The guardian described the abuses committed and ordered school officials to "remedy this incident so that it does not happen again with another of my children, if it does occur again I know it is because that it was not penalized correctly."[74]

Despite high levels of individual illiteracy, guardians engaged with the state by virtue of their proximity and access to literacy. While many non-elite Dominicans were considered "illiterate," they still employed other forms of literacy practices. Engaging in "distributed literacy," Dominicans utilized those in their community who possessed reading and writing skills to communicate their thoughts in a way that was legible to government officials. They often wrote collective letters or used members of their communities as scribes. [75] Although most

[73] Letter from a mother in Jánico to the regional superintendent of the northern department, April 30, 1924, document no. 0500, exp. 1, leg. 32_37, 104819, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[74] Letter from a guardian in el Rio to the school inspector in Jarabacoa, March 14, 1921, document no. 0062, exp. 1, leg. C196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[75] Bruce Curtis, "On Distributed Literacy: Textually Mediated Politics in Colonial Canada," *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. 1–2 (2008): 233–238; This idea of "multiple literacies" differs from the long-standing notion that literacy is a singular thing, entailing identifiable stages of development, that a person either had or did not have. They emphasized "bringing" literacy to "illiterate" communities. Instead, drawing on the notion of literacy as a practice that is informed by social and cultural practices, scholars have argued for the existence of "multiple literacies." They understand the variability of literacy based on the historical and cultural contexts, questioning what is traditionally considered a "text" that can be read. See James Collins and Richard Blot, *Literacy and Literacies: Texts, Power, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Dominicans were not technically literate, they had access to literacy in that community, were quite informed about local and national law, and navigated state systems with those same tools. Thus, communities leveraged collective skills to effectively access and navigate the literate world.

This notion of self-asserted citizenship clashed with the understanding of citizenship advocated by government officials. US officials and Dominican education administrators argued that their efficient, differentiated public school system would provide Dominicans with the tools necessary for citizenship. Government officials promoted the notion that rural Dominicans were ignorant and needed to attain individual literacy to access citizenship. One school official noted: "I believe that the School has contributed to clearing the borders of mourning that have marked the records of the court of justice due to crime and delinquency." He described the area as dangerous, noting "its inhabitants in the past were wild and wicked," and highlighted the civilizing effects of the school.[76] As argued in the previous chapter, school officials saw their role as bringing modernity and enlightenment to rural populations. Most importantly, by extending schools to rural communities, government officials believed they could envelope campesinos into the Dominican nation and teach them, through their children, not just literacy but also how to be productive citizens.

While government officials pathologized Dominican campesinos and treated them in demeaning ways, many Dominicans successfully engaged with these government officials in the practices the officials were familiar with. Looking at the education reforms from the viewpoint of Dominican guardians and community members of non-elite classes, it is evident many Dominicans in the countryside already navigated the literate world and practiced their own

[76] Memorandum from the school inspector of Santiago to the regional superintendent of the northern department, not dated, año 1924, exp. 13, leg. C217, 104219, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN.

notions of citizenship long before the start of the education policy. They defied the US military government's official claim that they would bring modernity and civilize Dominican campesinos through a collaboration with Dominican education administrators. Non-elite Dominicans exposed blind spots in the plans of education administrators, who believed that scientific practices and efficiently-adapted education would be the driving force behind campesinos' productivity within the national economy. Middle- and lower-class Dominicans, fully capable of governing their own autonomous communities, asserted their citizenship prior to state interventions or any other attempts at "granting" literacy or citizenship. They used their access to literacy and their other skills to perform their duties as citizens and work with government officials to ensure their community had access to education.

While guardians cooperated with the plans of US officials and education administrators to expand schools into rural communities and standardize education, their actions should be also understood within the context of power. Both US and Dominican government officials saw the government's role in terms of providing literacy and granting access to citizenship through schools—in other words, teaching Dominicans how to be effective and productive citizens. Yet we also must consider the violence of the US occupation as an enterprise. Lower- and middle-class Dominicans were fully aware of the censorship laws, extrajudicial violence by the marines, and the overall loss of sovereignty entailed in a foreign government generating and enforcing national policy.[77] This foreign government made decisions that impacted everything from the land they owned and the property taxes they would owe, to how much would be allocated to the national budget and what amount would be paid to the US for outstanding loans. So, to say that

[77] April Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic: Class, Race, and Dominican National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014); Lorgia García-Peña, *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and Archives of Contradiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*.

the guardians themselves were collaborators misrepresents their position. While education administrators also made choices to work with the US military government or resign from their positions, as a function of their access to power, their sphere of influence was much greater. Dominican elites who chose to collaborate with US officials on shaping education reforms did so because the policies were consistent with their beliefs, even though US officials did not respect or treat them as equal partners.

Instead, guardians and community members should be recognized as exerting their agency within their limited sphere of influence and negotiating what was in their control. Aware of their status, guardians and community members negotiated their positions and leveraged opportunities by working with the government. They made decisions based on the choices they had and obtained what they could out of a difficult situation. US and Dominican government officials were obligated to work with them and acquiesced to their demands and desires because without them, there would be no way to compel Dominicans to cooperate. There was simply no mechanism to do so in a decentralized country.[78] And when the national and local governments could no longer provide what the community members wanted, which was mainly financial resources to pay for a teacher, guardians and community members found ways around the gap in funding. Guardians and community members continued to build schools, furnish classrooms, and locate teachers who would volunteer to teach their children because they understood that it was primarily their responsibility. In fact, guardians and community members worked tirelessly to ensure that children had access to schooling because they saw this as directly tied to their roles as citizens. Guardians recognized their duty to ensure that their children attended schools and

[78] In this respect, the case of the Dominican Republic was similar to Mexico's expansion of the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) in the post-revolutionary period. See Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930–1940* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

believed it was their obligation to help to preserve their local schools, whether through financial contributions, volunteer efforts, or a combination of the two.

Thus, the "modernizing project" in the Dominican Republic did not just descend from above nor was it solely the result of the US's imperialist desires. Rather, the education policy during the 1916 US occupation was shaped significantly by the Dominican working class, in both urban and rural areas. The reforms for the schools were not unidirectional. Community members negotiated their views about schooling and the role of education in forming and practicing citizenship. They resisted efforts from the government, altered education policies, and influenced how school policies were implemented on the ground. Guardians reclaimed the honor and respectability denied to them by their occupiers, engaged with state actors, and challenged their paternalist views and approaches. In doing so, they redefined notions of citizenship and participation by articulating their expectations of the state. When those were unmet, they took it upon themselves to make changes.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the mass school closures during the latter period of the occupation to consider the perspective of guardians and community members in rural and urban areas of the Dominican Republic. Because of the collapse of public school system and the failures of the state-led reforms, this period provides the clearest example of the role of guardians and community members in shaping the opportunities for schooling.

The US military government decided schools would be the most efficient and effective means of imparting ideas about US forms of democracy to the Dominican people. The system collapsed, however, under the strains of expansion and efficiency, which the US prioritized at all costs. With limited resources, the US military government decided to continue funding the

expansion and adopted a property tax to finance the schools. They kept this policy despite having to recruit underqualified teachers, cut teacher training, and even dock teachers' pay. While altering how schools were financed was another way to increase efficiency in the system, the new property tax created a massive backlash. US officials attempted to replace traditional landholding practices in the country, and many campesinos in turn decided to protest the land tax because the global and domestic economy made it impossible for Dominicans to pay them.

US officials saw schools as valuable vehicles through which to achieve their goals for political, social, and economic stability in the Dominican Republic. Thus, when US officials had to make tough choices about what they would fund, as the national budget was stretched to its limit, they consistently went back to what they thought was most important. They favored the enduring projects: the physical schoolhouses and the mechanisms for funding them. Rather than curriculum or pedagogy, US officials were more concerned with increasing access to schools, "showing" Dominicans the importance of education, and "teaching" them how to structure an efficient system. Thus, when the external economic crisis and internal funding issues caused the education system to collapse, US officials could still claim success. In their view, the US reforms had been successful. Dominicans had "learned" or been taught efficient and modern methods for organizing and funding a national school system.

Centering the perspective of lower- and middle-class Dominicans reveals a different side to the story. While government officials promised access to citizenship through schools, campesinos and working-class Dominicans saw schools as tied to exercising their existing citizenship and providing their children with the tools necessary to succeed. Since the cooperation of Dominican campesinos was essential to both the functioning and expansion of the school system, particularly as the state completely defunded the institution, working-class

Dominicans were essentially supporting the education project by 1921. Parental participation in schools was a way to exercise their citizenship and was a practice that predated the start of the occupation. Guardians brought their children to school in record numbers and worked in community organizations such as the Sociedades Populares de Educación to ensure their children acquired the skills they believed would help them prosper in the future. Guardians and community members protested school policies they disagreed with and negotiated questions of whether schools would be single sex or co-educational, where they would be located, and what was taught. Guardians also defended their beliefs that local and national governments should only play a limited role in schools and maintained that schools were primarily their responsibility, as Dominican citizens.

By featuring the perspectives of those on the ground, this chapter sheds light on the space for agency within US empire and reveals the impact of empire on the ground. As the state-based schools closed towards the end of the occupation and the government's silhouette diminished, the role of community actors became ever more apparent. Even as the state-based system collapsed, actors on the ground created their own schooling opportunities. Examining the actions and decisions of lower- and middle-class Dominicans makes evident that schools, while seemingly useful for promoting propaganda within empire, are also spaces where these policies can fall apart. Schools are key places for negotiation and exerting agency in local decision making, even in authoritarian regimes. Through their work with schools, non-elite Dominican guardians and community members used their positions to advocate for what they believed was beneficial to their community's future and shaped how US policies were carried out.

Chapter VI:

Conclusion

Examining the US occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, this dissertation demonstrates how US and Dominican stakeholders used public schools to disseminate their notions of Dominican citizenship. Rather than center US subjects and actions in histories of US imperialism, this dissertation contributes to redressing the imbalance in the historiography by highlighting the voices and experiences of local actors. It analyzes the ways in which Dominicans of all classes were active in shaping their own visions of citizenship through public schools and how they participated in efforts made by the US military government. This dissertation features a range of Dominican perspectives and reactions to the US military government and the education reforms, including collaboration, cooperation, and resistance. While providing a diversity of views, it considers how the positionality of the actors influenced their responses to the increased attention to Dominican schools and traces how their actions and perceptions changed over the course of the occupation.

Traditionally referred to as "American" reforms, this dissertation contradicts this common assumption by revealing how US officials, Dominican education administrators, and non-elite Dominicans throughout the country significantly influenced the education project. It demonstrates how US officials attempted to use schools to reconfigure the Dominican nation as a modern democratic country, compatible with US political and economic interests. US officials racialized Dominicans as "mulatto peasants" and sought to use schools to educate Dominicans on their notions of citizenship because they believed as members of a superior race, it was their

duty to do so. This dissertation also documents how and why Dominican elites decided to collaborate with the implementation of the policies. Dominican education administrators did so not because the reforms were imposed by US officials, but to take advantage of US efforts and push forth their own notion of Dominican citizenship. They worked with US officials to unify and expand the Dominican school system by enrolling children of all classes in schools. But in doing so also established a bifurcated system that segmented the population based on class and created differentiated lessons on Dominican citizenship. Furthermore, this dissertation reveals how non-elite Dominicans across the country also played a pivotal role in the expansion of schools. Guardians, teachers, and administrators contributed to conversations about the development of the Dominican nation, even in the context of US empire. They chose to participate in the reforms as a form of exercising their self-asserted citizenship and providing their children with the tools to improve their future economic and social conditions.

Thus, efforts in the school system highlight how Dominicans of all classes were instrumental in shaping what the education reforms were and how they would be executed. Although these actors did not always agree on what the schools would look like or what would be taught, they each valued education as fundamental to advancing the needs of Dominican society. For that reason, Dominicans throughout the country took advantage of the US military government's emphasis on education. They worked with US officials to reform the Dominican school system and expand schools into rural areas of the country. As Dominicans generally understood education to be essential for practicing Dominican citizenship, many believed it was their duty to aid in the transformation of the Dominican school system as doing so would contribute to the development of their country.

Much of the literature on the 1916 US occupation has portrayed the intervention as a result of US imperial aggression and has centered Dominican resistance to the occupation, either in the form of the national and international protests or the rural opposition. This dissertation contributes to a revision of this historiography. It reveals that there was a significant level of collaboration and cooperation between US and Dominican actors during the 1916 occupation. Even prior to the occupation, the US military intervened in the Dominican Republic because of increasing ties between the two countries, culminating with the US acting forcefully. US officials also used collaboration as a key strategy for their initiatives in the school system and actively sought to work with Dominicans who believed links to US would be advantageous. Since US officials pushed forth notions that were consistent with existing views about the role of education in citizenship, Dominican education administrators agreed to collaborate on the education reforms even though they shaped the policies based on their own notions of citizenship. Non-elite Dominicans also made choices to participate in the education project. They decided to enroll their children and bring them to school. Guardians and community members also maintained local school in their areas through volunteer labor and donated materials and funding. Even with the widespread closures and weakened system, schools in the Dominican Republic continued to operate primarily because of the grassroots efforts led by Dominican guardians and community members.

Although Dominicans participated in furthering the expansion of the schools and influenced the reforms in the system, the relationship between US officials and Dominicans was not an equitable partnership. US officials held more power over Dominican institutions and did not perceive or treat Dominicans as their equals. Despite widespread cooperation from Dominicans, many of the structural efforts were controlled by US officials, as they held the most

power in the military government. So even as Dominican education administrators and school officials influenced the day-to-day aspects of the school reforms, the institutional changes such as school financing were generated by US efforts. These structural changes in school financing created issues when allocating the funding necessary to maintain the system's expansion, which led to its collapse in 1921. Yet, even with this power imbalance, this dissertation expands our understanding of how Dominicans responded to the efforts made by US officials by recognizing how Dominicans chose to exercise their agency through collaboration and cooperation along with resisting US forces.

This dissertation also adds nuance to more recent discussions on education and empire because it reveals the paradox of using schools as a vehicle for imperial expansion. It contends that despite US actors' desires to indoctrinate Dominican subjects through state funded schools, these actors challenged and repurposed the education policies, thereby revealing the value of schools in exposing limits to US imperial authority. Although US forces had sovereign control over the Dominican educational institutions, the type of education that occurred in the Dominican schools and its impact could not be controlled. Dominicans from all classes expressed their agency by adapting, negotiating, and resisting US efforts in their spheres of influence, whether it was in schools, classrooms, or their homes. Dominican education administrators who translated US visions for the Dominican school system made choices to work with the US military government to execute reforms and to expand and increase efficiency in the school system. Community members and guardians worked to open and maintain schools in their communities because of their own self-asserted notion of citizenship and their beliefs about their role in supporting the schools in their localities.

Even though non-elite guardians and Dominicans living in communities with schools cooperated with military officials at the start of the occupation, many began resisting efforts they believed limited their autonomy in the schools. Some guardians opposed these efforts by refusing to enroll their children or reappropriating the education project for their own means by shaping what policies were implemented in their local communities. Rather than feeling compelled, Dominicans decided on their own how, and to what extent, they would take part in the education reforms and engage with the state. The participation in the school reforms allowed them to do so on their own terms.

While this dissertation seeks to expand the scholarship on the 1916 occupation and literature on education and empire, it provides only a fragment of what is left to be uncovered on this topic and period. As this study provides a national narrative on education, further research is required on schools from the regional and local level as well as on private schools during the occupation. Additional studies can also be conducted on the role of teachers in the education reforms. More research is necessary to examine how they may have used education to articulate their notions of Dominican citizenship and whether their definitions were similar to or differed from what education administrators asserted. As there is very little written on final years of the occupation, further research is also needed on the end of the occupation and on the role of education in the growing anti-US resistance effort that developed between 1920 and 1924.

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By September 1924, the final US troops had withdrawn from the Dominican Republic. The US occupation of the country ended because of widespread distrust and growing anti-US sentiment within the school system and throughout the country during the latter years of the

military government.[1] While in 1916 Dominicans across the country collaborated with US officials because of shared views, by 1920 the atmosphere had changed drastically. Tensions between the military government and the broader Dominican public escalated upon the suspension of the school system as appeals to reopen the schools merged with nationalist calls for the termination of the occupation. Dominicans of all classes attended public meetings to protest the military government and discuss plans to reinstate Dominican sovereignty.[2] At the gatherings, Dominicans chanted, "Down with Americans!", "Eradicate the white blood from the Republic!" and "To the devil with the Khaki uniform!"

Many Dominicans who vocalized their opposition to the occupation used the collapse of the public schools as evidence of the military government's failure.[3] In the first issue of the local newspaper *El Cable*, one journalist wrote, "The first issue of 'El Cable' could not miss this most active protest against the mutilation that the most sacred tree of our institutions has suffered: instruction. Victims of the economic failures of our oppressors, many schools have closed their doors to helpless and needy children." The journalist noted the hundreds of students in San Juan who no longer have access to schools "as a consequence of the measure taken to introduce

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[1] For more information about the end of the military government and withdrawal of US troops, see Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the US Occupation of 1916–1924* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); Ellen D. Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and Resistance in the Dominican Republic* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

[2] The mayor of the town Duvergé was accused of "endeavoring to incite the people to an uprising against the Military Government" and holding meetings in his house "under the pretense that they are meetings of a ladies patriotic society." See letter from the Department of Justice and Public Instruction to the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, August 2, 1920, exp. 40, caja 111, 1700217, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN. Some Dominicans who participated in the meetings were charged with attempts "to incite the people to unrest, disorder and revolt," which defied executive order 385, Governor Snowden's updated censorship law. See United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 1175–1192; Letter from the Colonel Commandant P.N.D to the Commanding General of the US Marine Corps, June 26, 1921, exp. 134, leg. 40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

[3] Nationalist organizations in the Dominican Republic along with associations in Cuba wrote to the US government in Washington protesting the school closures. See telegram from Moca Junta Nacionalista, May 15, 1921, Record Group (RG) 59: Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of the Dominican Republic; NARA II; Telegram from the Asociación de Estudiantes de Derecho Republica Cubana, May 16, 1921; RG 59; NARA II; Telegram from Archbishop Adolfo Noel, May 19, 1921; RG 59; NARA II.

savings in the school budget for this year." While domestic and international newspapers presented the occupation favorably at the start of the occupation, they quickly reversed their position between 1920 and 1924.[4]

Mounting public opposition to the US military made it difficult for many school officials to continue working in government. Those who remained in their positions were called traitors by the leaders of a budding anti-imperialist and nationalist movement demanding the complete termination of US control. While many teachers, school inspectors, and principals opted to leave their positions, others elected to demonstrate their discontent through different forms of protest within the school system. Between 1920 and 1924, school officials openly shared their views on the state of the institution and the government with their colleagues and wrote letters to education administrators protesting their conditions. To address the outspoken critiques of the military government and the education system, General Superintendent Julio Ortega Frier issued a statement to school officials in the spring 1920. In his memorandum, Ortega Frier warned his employees that "the Superintendency of Education will not accept, in official matters, public criticism from any member of the service" and they would be severely sanctioned if they were caught vocalizing their critiques. While threatening his employees, Ortega Frier's statement also revealed the education administrator's concern that the discontent from the ranks would interfere with his ability to control the system. This fear was similar to US officials, and the move to silence critiques was consistent with how the US military government responded to the backlash against it. Just months earlier, Military Governor Snowden issued an updated censorship law

[4] "Sobre escuelas," *El Cable*, February 5, 1921, Digitized Collection, AGN. The coverage of the US officials, particularly in the editorial column of the local paper *Ecos del Valle*, changed from praise (an official such as Rufus H. Lane was described as "a staunch defender" who deserved gratitude from the nation for his honorable work on behalf of the nation) to rebuke ("no one gave Wilson powers to destroy the Dominican Republic," wrote the editor of newspaper about the occupation). See "Editorial: Escuelas y caminos," *Ecos del Valle*, January 7, 1920, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Editorial: Nuestro caso con los americanos," *Ecos del Valle*, June 20, 1920, Digitized Collection, AGN.

prohibiting articles and speeches that "represented the present condition of Santo Domingo in a manifestly unjust or untrue way, and that could provoke disorder from the masses."[5]

Despite being threatened by top education administrators and the military government, teachers and school officials continued to vocalize their critiques. They engaged in demonstrations against the school closures and resisted the general presence of US officials in the Dominican Republic. At a Christmas event sponsored by the Red Cross, an organization perceived to be affiliated with the United States, teachers protested the gift giveaway by refusing to attend. Instead, they created an alternative event in their schools where they gifted toys and candies to their students.[6] School officials also signed petitions circulated by nationalist organizations declaring the occupation illegal and unjust. Once caught, US officials ordered the school officials to be fired from their positions.[7] Along with public displays of opposition, school officials also expressed their discontent with the military government in everyday encounters. In an incident report written by a marine captain recently transferred to Los Llanos, he described how the local school inspector refused to obey his orders to attend a meeting with the men in the town. Instead, the inspector advanced towards him in a "threatening manner,

[5] Letter from the General Superintendent of Public Instruction to the regional superintendents and school inspectors in the country, March 19, 1920, document no. 0257–0259, exp. 1, leg. C_315, 112309, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Secretaría de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, "Orden Ejecutiva No. 385," *Colección de leyes, decretos y resoluciones emanados de los poderes legislativo y ejecutivo de la República, 1920* (Santo Domingo: Imprenta de J.R. vda. García, 1921), 7.

[6] "Iniciativo del presidente Vicini Burgos desatendida: Las maestras se niegan aceptar juguetes de 'Cruz Roja Dominicana,' protestas y reprimendas," *El Diario,* December 23, 1922, document no. 0016, exp. 4, 503598, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Neici Zeller also describes protests of teachers Isabel Fernández viuda Billini and Ercilia Pepín, in which female teachers navigated their gender norms while publicly protesting the occupation. See Neici Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing: Politics and Gender in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1961," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2010), 51–53.

[7] The "Junta de Abstención Electoral" of Santo Domingo protested the 1921 election that US officials proposed as a precondition for their withdrawal. In their petition, the association listed the suppressed public school system as one of the many injustices caused by the military government. The military government fired all Dominican employees who signed the petition. "Protesta," July 14, 1921, exp. 127, leg. 10, 1700224, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Letter from Military Governor of Santo Domingo to All Departments, July 29, 1921, exp. 23, leg_10, 1700224, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force*, 160.

growling with his fists cinched." [8] The officer proceeded to physically assault the inspector until he obeyed. Later that evening, the officer reported that the "when we were in a search for a house to quarter," he noted that "the people assembled," likely to discuss the incident and other matters related to the military government and the town.

University students also voiced their opposition to the US occupation and suppression of the school system through national organizations. Using their networks, students connected with influential figures to ask them to speak on their behalf on international platforms. In 1921, the Liga Nacional de Estudiantes (National League of Students) contacted Pedro Henríquez Ureña, the son of former president of the Dominican Republic Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal, inviting him to present their "energetic and firm protest" against the military occupation at the First Pan-American Congress of Students. In their letter, the students requested that he express their desires for hemispheric dialogue and aid so that the fight for Dominican independence could be supported by other Pan-American nations. The Liga Nacional de Estudiantes also wrote to Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal on another occasion about their protests regarding the total suppression of the education system. [9]

Additionally, Dominican school officials and students engaged in nationwide protests against US forces. In the spring of 1920, the Unión Nacional Dominicana (Dominican National

[8] Letter from Commanding General of the US Marine Corps to the Department of Justice and Public Instruction, December 8, 1921, exp. 135, leg. 40, 1700200, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN. The community of Los Llanos had had a violent encounter with officials just months before, in which US officials shot at its citizens while arresting the mayor, school inspectors, teachers, chief of police, and a number of other citizens accused of inciting a rebellion. Notable author and politician Fabio Fiallo wrote to the Military Governor to protest against the "acts of blood and brutality" committed by US troops. See Memorandum for the Commanding General of the US Marine Corps, November 1, 1921, exp. 128, caja 121, 1700203, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

[9] Letter from Viriato A. Fiallo, President of la Liga Nacional de Estudiantes to Pedro Henríquez Ureña, August 8, 1921, *Treinta intelectuales dominicanos escriben a Pedro Henríquez Ureña, 1897–1933,* ed. Bernardo Vega (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2015), 455; Letter from Viriato A. Fiallo, President of la Liga Nacional de Estudiantes to Francisco Henríquez de Carvajal, May 10, 1921, *Los intelectuales y la intervención militar norteamericana, 1916–1924,* ed. Alejandro Paulino (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2017), 231.

Union) launched a campaign across the country called "Semana Patriótica" (Patriotic Week) to oppose the US occupation and finance nationalist campaigns taking place overseas. Teachers participated in the fundraiser by selling small Dominican flag emblems, seals, and medals. In an editorial of the local paper *Ecos del Valle* based in Bani, the editor commented on the significance of the Semana Patriótica. He expressed that to those involved, it was "proof that we were willing to be free and sovereign, which is why we contribute our resources and make sacrifices until we get what belongs to us and what is in the process of returning to our hands."[10]

The Unión Nacional was one of many local associations and international campaigns generated to support Dominican liberation and condemn the actions of the leaders of the military government.[11] While nationalist organizations recruited school officials to join their events, the membership often consisted of prominent figures of the middle and elite classes including international diplomats and exiled intellectuals living in the country, US, and Europe. The international campaign spearheaded by la Comisión Nacionalista Dominicana, included the former president Henríquez y Carvajal, his sons Pedro and Max Henríquez Ureña and writer and diplomat Tulio M. Cestero. Middle-class and elite women also played a key role in nationalist

[10] Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing," 54; Letter from Jose M. Yrizarry, April 10, 1922, exp. 19, leg. 116, 1700227, Military Government 1916–1924, Digitized Collection, AGN; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 199; "Editorial: Semana patriótica," *Ecos del Valle*, June 6, 1920, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Editorial: Éxito de la semana patriótica," *Ecos del Valle*, June 23, 1920, Digitized Collection, AGN; Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 193–199.

[11] The Unión Nacional was spearheaded by Américo Lugo and Fabio Fiallo and included several other influential leaders, many of whom were either students or considered themselves disciples of Eugenio María de Hostos. The association called for complete US withdrawal and the reestablishment of the Dominican Republic as a fully sovereign country. Members of the organization also argued against collaboration with the military government because they believed this cooperation could create a scenario in which Dominican authority was limited after the troops' departure. The Unión Nacional existed alongside other national literary, political, and cultural societies, such as the Asociación Literaria Plus-Ultra, La Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista in Puerto Plata, Asociación de Jóvenes Dominicanos in Santiago, la Junta Nacionalista, la Gran Liga Nacional Dominicana, and organizations like El Paladión. See Isabel de León Olivares, *Defender la nación: Intelectuales dominicanos frente a la primera intervención estadounidense, 1916–1924* (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2019); *El Paladión: De la ocupación militar norteamericana a la dictadura de Trujillo (Tomo I),* ed. Alejandro Paulino (Santo Domingo: Academia Dominicana de la Historia, 2010), 27–32; Letter from the President of the Junta Nacionalista "Capotillo" to the principal of a graded co-educational school in Monte Cristi, July 16, 1921, document no. 0215, 1921, exp. 1, leg. 4, 112932, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN.

campaigns. They directed the fundraising efforts necessary for travel and founded nationalist organizations in the Dominican Republic and abroad, including the Junta de Damas, the Junta Patriótica de Damas, and El Comité de Damas.[12] Women also created platforms and disseminated their views. Female teachers generated the first feminist magazine, *Fémina*, which became an influential vehicle to express their political opinions and was an attempt to unify the country, reemphasize the women's role in the nation, and advocate for civic education in the home.[13]

Dominican intellectuals and politicians published in newspapers, magazines, journals, and books in addition to speaking at international conferences to present their arguments for US withdrawal. They traveled across cities in the US, Europe, and Latin America to promote Dominican patriotism and to provoke inquiries into the military government.[14] Dominican nationalists claimed the US government took advantage of the political and economic instability of the Dominican Republic. They contended that US officials had no right to occupy a sovereign country, remain in the country indefinitely, and alter its laws and constitution. Dominican nationalists accused the US of overstepping its authority and urged the international community to unite against US aggression. They argued the fight in the Dominican Republic was a unified struggle against American imperialism in the Philippines, Panama, Nicaragua, and Cuba. To

[12] El Comité de Damas was founded in New York in 1919 by women who immigrated from the central region of the Dominican Republic. Paulino, *El Paladión*, 29.

[13] For more on the role of women in the protests against the US occupation see Zeller, "The Appearance of All, the Reality of Nothing Politics and Gender in the Dominican Republic"; Mercedes Fernández Asenjo, "Activismo político y feminismo en la República Dominicana: Petronila Angélica Gómez y *Fémina* (1922–1939)," *Meridional: Revista Chilena de Estudios Latinoamericanos* no. 7 (2016): 251–277; Elizabeth Manley, *The Paradox of Paternalism: Women and the Politics of Authoritarianism in the Dominican Republic* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2017); Brenda Liz Ortiz-Loyola, "En busca de la solidaridad: Feminismo y nación en el Caribe hispano, 1880–1940," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013); Virtudes Álvarez, *Mujeres del 16* (Santo Domingo: Mediabyte, 2005).

[14] This included publishing a photograph of Cayo Báez, a victim of marine torture. See Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 198. For more information about nationalist protests throughout the US occupation, see de León Olivares, *Defender la nación*.

rectify the situation, nationalists advocated for a US withdrawal plan that was "pura y simple" (pure and simple). They demanded US troops exit without additional stipulations, including managing an election to replace the military government as US officials sought to do.

The US occupation of the Dominican Republic generated such an international controversy that it prompted American audiences to discuss US President Woodrow Wilson's interventionist foreign policy during the 1920 US presidential election cycle. Due to mounting pressure from the national and international opposition, the US national government initiated congressional hearings to investigate the occupations in the Dominican Republic and Haiti in the US senate in 1921. In the hearings, US military officials attempted to justify their incursion into the Dominican Republic and their subsequent military government and reforms. Despite the accusations, US officials continued to characterize their efforts as altruistic and heralded the changes in the Dominican school system as one of their greatest achievements in the country. As with publications at the start of the occupation, military officials cited education as foundational to their efforts at instilling democracy and social stability. Officials testifying before congress stressed how the reforms in public instruction were beneficial not just to the students, but also to the nation, and did so even as the school system was rapidly declining.

Similar to the schoolhouse project, US officials sought to salvage their reputation by emphasizing their successes. They presented themselves as engendering modernity and completely transforming the Dominican Republic. US officials did so by depicting the school system prior to the US occupation as "very ineffective" as a way to draw contrast to their accomplishments.[15] They highlighted the country's history of issues with inconsistent salaries for teachers, low attendance and enrollment, ineffectual laws, high illiteracy rates, as well as

[15] United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part II*, 137.

inadequate and outdated schools and furniture. US officials underscored how they exhibited careful consideration of the needs of the country by implementing the reforms in their native language and claimed that they neither imposed their own language nor customs. US officials also contended they had successfully completed their mission in the Dominican with the permission of and collaboration with Dominicans.

Officials alleged their achievements were evident in the increasing school attendance, expanding access to school in rural communities, improving the efficiency of system, increasing teacher salaries, and modernizing school buildings and furniture. They strategically referenced the figures from 1920 to demonstrate their progress, despite the fact the school system was in shambles the following year. In their statistics, US officials counted the schools built by the Sociedades Populares de Educación as triumphs generated by their efforts, even though most of the rural schools were built by guardians, local societies, and volunteers from the community. As the concrete and wooden schoolhouses were easily photographed and shared statistically, this also became another way in which US officials claimed credit and declared their success in the Dominican Republic. In emphasizing earlier achievements rather than portraying the current state of affairs, US officials asserted the US intervention resulted in generating "more efficient teaching methods, improved school buildings, and better social conditions."[16]

The US military government also called on US academics to testify on their behalf. In his testimony, Carl Kelsey, professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, praised the education reforms during the occupation stating, "All classes everywhere make that statement in

[16] See United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 101–102; United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part II*, 940–941; United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation Part II*, 1321. This data was also used in publications such as Rufus H. Lane's "Civil Government in Santo Domingo in the Early Days of Military Occupation," *Marine Corps Gazette* 7, no. 2 (June 1922), 127–146 and Carl Kelsey's *The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1922), as well as in reports and newspaper articles and journals circulated in the US.

reference to education, that there has been a tremendous increase in the last five years."[17] In an academic journal published the following year Kelsey wrote, "The Dominicans freely state that the impetus given public education is one of the best things done by the Americans." [18] Although Kelsey admitted that US officials made errors which caused the 1920–1921 school year to be shortened, he quickly noted that it was nothing like what Dominicans had experienced in the past. He asserted, "Dominicans must not forget that in the old days most of these schools were not open at all. Such shortening of the school year is not unknown in this country under similar conditions." Even with the admission of mistakes made by the military government, US allies rearticulated the benefit of US aid by depicting the existing conditions as superior to those prior to the occupation.

Since the goal of the US military government was to educate and uplift Dominicans, US officials also claimed that they transformed the country simply by alleging they brought new ideas and aided Dominicans by acting as their guide. In doing so, US officials relinquished any control over whatever happened after Dominicans took the reins. Therefore, when the school system began to decline and collapsed in 1921, or any subsequent issues, these complications would not reflect poorly on the military government. US officials could still claim they accomplished their objectives because they were only responsible for the initial attempt to change Dominican mindsets and implant ideas for future generations.

Nevertheless, many Dominicans who testified in the US congress presented a wholly different picture of the occupation. Intellectuals, school officials, and students, portrayed the Dominican Republic as advanced and democratic as well as an ally to the US. They engaged notions of white supremacy by emphasizing the whiteness and civilized nature of Dominicans

[17] United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part II*, 1269.
[18] Kelsey, *The American Intervention*, 181–182.

while attempting to distance themselves from their Black heritage. Some testified to the cruelties of the military government and the lawyer Pedro A. Perez even alleged Dominicans were being treated unfairly as if they were "Negroes from the Congo." [19] By arguing that Dominicans were civilized and drawing contrast against other Black nations, Dominicans who testified sought to present themselves as capable of self-government and portray the Dominican Republic as a modern nation. They asserted there was no need for US oversight since they already had the foundations of democracy. Therefore, they requested the immediate termination of the military government and plans for a prompt US withdrawal.

The US congressional hearings along with the mounting pressure from both the Dominican Republic and international entities resulted in a plan for the early termination of the occupation. With the Hughes-Peynado withdrawal plan, the US military government agreed to hold elections in 1921, transition to a civil government run by a Dominican Provisional President in 1922 and hold the formal elections and evacuate the rest of US troops in 1924. [20] In the interim period, US officials focused on drawing their projects to a close and summarizing their intervention in their reports by continuing to emphasize the changes in the Dominican school system up until 1920 instead of reflecting the realities of the system. Dominican schools remained operating on a local level through grassroots efforts without much government intervention. Even after the termination of the military government in 1924, newspapers continued to comment on the poor state of the schools. They published editorials renewing calls

[19] United States Congress, *Inquiry into Occupation and Administration of Haiti and Santo Domingo Part II*, 967.
[20] Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, xvi; Letter from the school inspector of Santiago to the principals of rudimentary schools in Santiago, January 18, 1921, document no. 0059, exp. 1, 116073, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of La Romana to the Trustee Chairman of the District Board, November 12, 1920, document no. 0866, exp. 1, leg. C315, 112309, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Digitized Collection, AGN; Letter from the school inspector of Jarabacoa to the principals of the schools in the jurisdiction, document no. 0321, exp. 1, leg. C_196, 104805, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction, AGN; Letter from the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police to the Military Governor, July 7, 1921, exp. 5, leg. 57a, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN.

to the government to reinstate education and prioritize schools as a way to modernize the country.[21]

Literature on the intellectual resistance features an influential group of letrados including Américo Lugo, Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal and his two sons, who circulated the Dominican Republic, Latin America, the United States and Europe. In their publications, these intellectuals made evident their struggle for power as they wanted to regain control and influence over the Dominican government and the country's citizens. While historians have documented the role of prominent intellectuals in causing the premature withdrawal of the US troops, their connection to protests in the education system has yet to be studied. Many of this key group of intellectuals were chief proponents of education and have been identified as students and followers of Eugenio Maria de Hostos, often referred to as his "disciples." Although some members have noted the impact of Hostos' ideas, what had been left out is that why they wanted to regain control of Dominican institutions, how Hostos' notions of education may have influenced the movement, and how they perceived the changes in the school system. [22]

In their publications, these Dominican intellectuals wrote about how they understood the school system as a fundamental institution in Dominican society since schools were necessary to educate future citizens on their rights and responsibilities to the nation. Through its schools, the government could help its citizens by providing positive physical, moral, and intellectual guidance necessary for a functioning democracy. Along with informing Dominicans of their civic duty, primary education would also prepare them with the "capacity" necessary for

[21] "Editorial: Nuestras escuelas," *Ecos del Valle*, December 6, 1923, Digitized Collection, AGN; "Edifiquemos las escuelas," *Ecos del Valle*, April 17–May 8, 1924, Digitized Collection, AGN.
[22] Protests ranged from those that only targeted reforms within the school system to those that included opposition to other US reforms like infrastructure and public works projects. See Américo Lugo and J. Rafael Bordas, "Los caminos de la conquista," *La Reforma Social* 23, no. 2 (1922): 174.

suffrage. Thus, these intellectuals advocated for primary schooling to be compulsory and provided by the government, with special emphasis to civic education.[23]

Although these intellectuals argued for the role of the Dominican government in administering schools and the importance of primary and civic education for Dominican citizens, further research is needed about links to the nationalist movement. In particular, since many of the leaders of the movement were also staunch supporters of education reform, it is interesting to know whether they used the example of the collapsed school system as evidence of the failures of the military government in their arguments for complete political sovereignty. In one publication, the leader of the Unión Nacional, Américo Lugo intertwined education with the nationalist movement and argued that Dominicans should be able to control school since the military government has lent "itself to abusively reform the laws in force on public instruction."[24] However, we still do not know whether the example of the school closures was used broadly. As calls for government control of schools and increased civic education could have been closely linked to demands to have more control of Dominican institutions, it would be fascinating to know whether education was important to how some of the letrados conceptualized the resistance to the occupation or attempted to reassert their influence in Dominican society.

Nevertheless, it is evident that elite and non-elite Dominicans across the country valued education as essential to the modernization and transformation of Dominican Republic. They used schools as spaces to negotiate their relationship to the US military government and the US empire. In examining this largely neglected case of US imperialism, the study of the 1916

[23] Américo Lugo, "Declaración de principios del partido nacionalista" (1925), *Obras Escogidas*, 220.
[24]Américo Lugo, "Protesta de la junta de abstención electoral de la provincial de Santo Domingo contra la sentencia que condena al patriota dominicano Dr. Federico Ellis Cambiaso" (1923), *Obras Escogidas*, 171–176.

occupation reveals how Dominican guardians, community members, and education officials navigated their spheres of influence and shaped US imperial policy. Even as US officials attempted to use education as central to their expansionist foreign policy, they could not control how their lessons were administered or received.

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Record Group 350: Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1868 – 1945
Still Picture Records

Appendix A

Glossary

Americanization	The umbrella term "Americanization" signifies a wide range of reforms addressed at dealing with the challenge of maintaining a stable, unified republic in an increasing pluralistic society. Requiring English language instruction was one of the chief methods to "Americanize" diverse populations and was commonly used throughout the US mainland and territories. US reformers approached the Americanization efforts in three ways: anglicization, the melting pot theory, and cultural pluralism. While different, these efforts highlighted questions about the role of immigrants in American society, who was considered American, and how the American identity should be expressed.
Campesino	Dominican rural peasant farmers.
Citizenship	An expressed relationship between the people and their governing body, either local or national.
Civilizing mission	A set of ideologies and practices used by Western powers to justify expansionist policies in areas in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Based in racist logics that upheld white superiority, the ideas and policies associated with civilizing missions usually argued that imperial powers had the duty to "uplift" other nations that were deemed backward in order to "civilize" them.
Common schools (US)	In the US, common schools existed within the system of schools developed during early to mid-nineteenth century. Hailed as being non-sectarian and divorced from politics, education reformers argued that common schools educated all for citizenship in order to create a cohesive republic. Reformers like Horace Mann in Massachusetts and Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island, championed common schools as great equalizers, teaching American culture and values like hard work and thrift.
Education	An effort to impart or alter an idea, skill, value, or mindset. It exists within schools but could also exist outside of schools.

Education administrators	The top officials in charge of managing the education system. Right below the US military government, the Dominicans in this post were well-educated and well-connected. While not really part of the intellectual elite, they were part of an upper class that had access to higher education and education opportunities abroad. In their posts they were able to make decisions about what the education were based on the executive orders issued by the Secretary of the State of Justice and Public Instruction.
Education officials	All employees of the education system: administrators, inspectors, principals, and teachers.
Empire	A group of territories or nations governed by, but not always incorporated into, a single central state authority.
Gavilleros	*Gavillerismo* emerged during the early century sugar boom as a response to the efforts by the national government to assert control through measure such as altering the communal land system and by increased policing. Between 1916–1922, the eastern part of the country was in the midst of a guerilla war involving US troops and *gavilleros,* a peasant-based rural movement opposing the expanding state, increased policing as well as the brutalities committed by the marines. Although *gavilleros* engaged in confrontations with the US troops, their attacks also prevented the military government from opening schools in several towns until late into the occupation.
Imperial contexts	I use the term "imperial context" to limit the framing of empire to the broader historical context as its most significant impact of US empire was on how the political and economic structures were organized. While it is important to recognize the power, hierarchies created when the US occupied, thinking of the limits of empire in the way provide space for an analysis that does not always fit into the hierarchical dynamics of empire and may not have reflected the ways the historical actors experienced their own lives.
Letrados	Members of the intellectual elite, often men, whose education and social status afforded them access to power. They often worked in high-ranking government positions.
Modernization	The belief that the growing influence of the state, urbanization, and the expansion of capitalism would eventually lead to the country's development.

Primary education	The first stage of formal education where students were taught basic literacy, mathematics, and other skills depending on the type of school. Primary education occurred in both rural and graded schools in the Dominican Republic.
School officials	School officials included teachers, principals, and school inspectors. These officials were tasked with translating the policy into practice. There were closer to the school level as they worked in the schools or visited them.
Schooling	The process of educating within the confines of a school. It is related to pedagogy and the goals of school are often skill-based traditionally associated with literacy and mathematics, or other subjects related to the curriculum.
US officials	US officials included the military governors, secretaries of justice and public instruction, as well as other top US military officers administering the Dominican government.

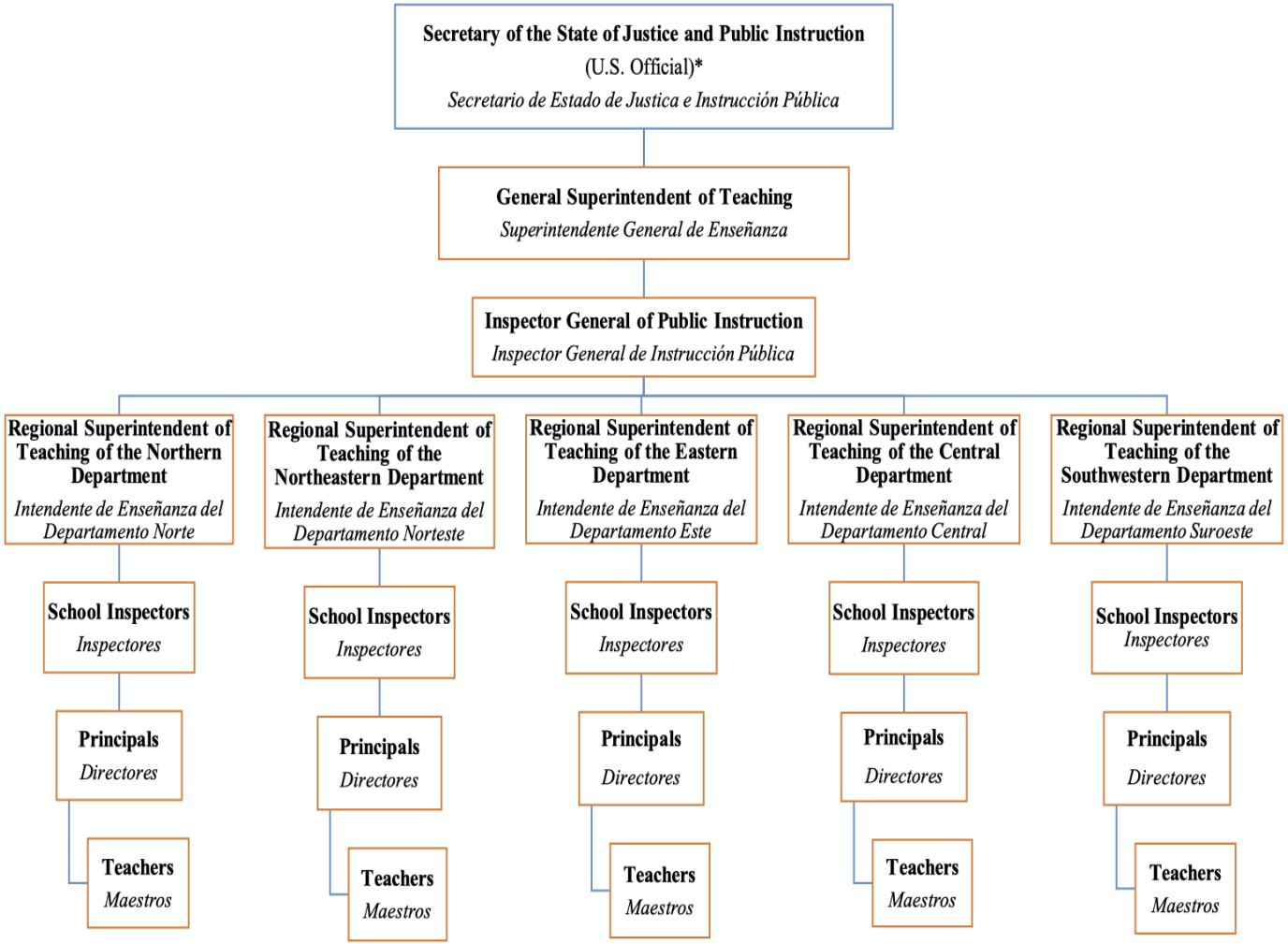
Appendix B

Map of the Dominican Republic [1]

[1] United States Central Intelligence Agency, "Dominican Republic," (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 2004) https://www.loc.gov/item/2004633434/.

Appendix C

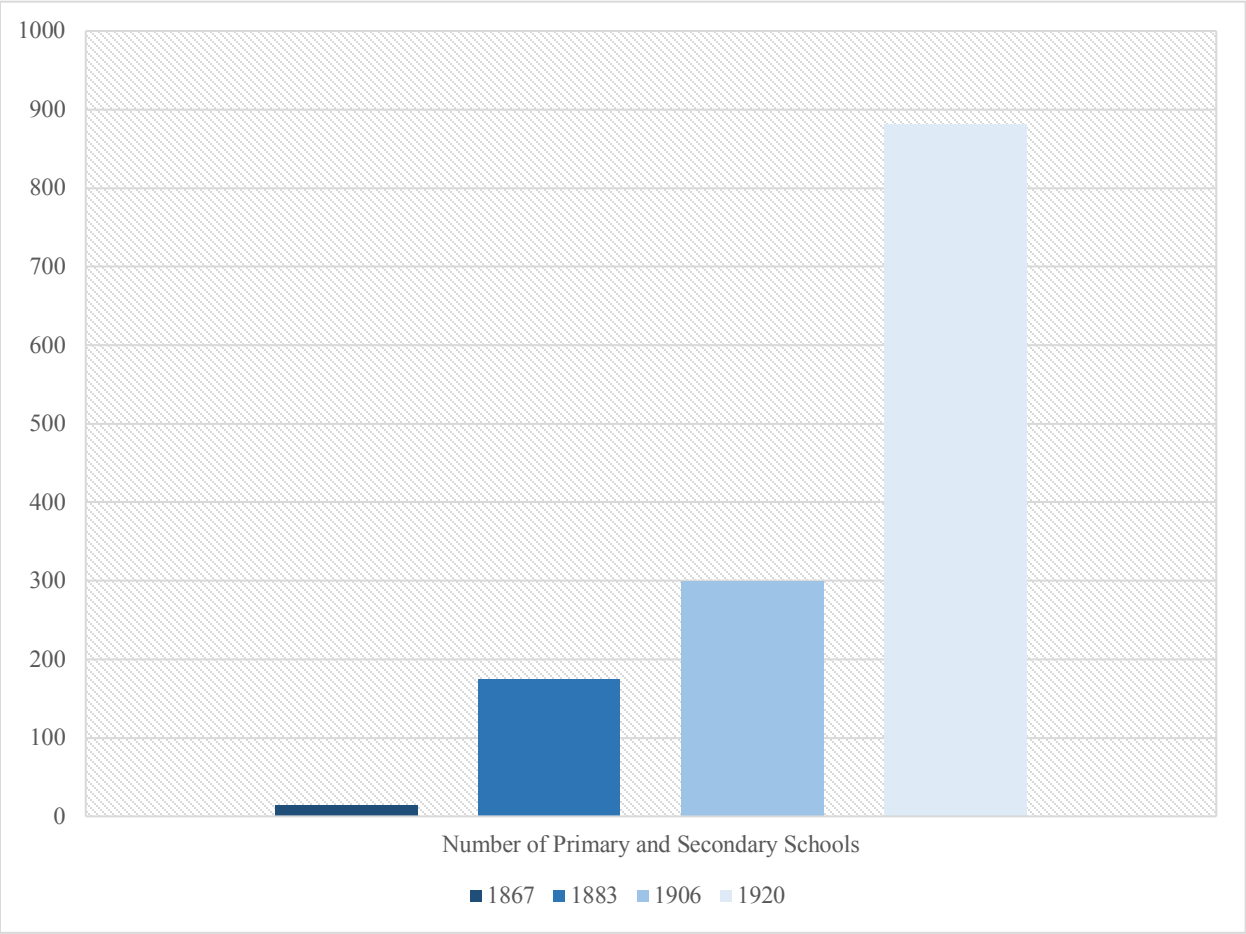
Organizational Structure of the Public School System, 1916–1924 [2]



[2] *Indicates a US official was appointed to this position. All other positions were held by Dominican nationals. Sources: Secretaría de Justicia e Instrucción Pública, "Ley para la dirección de la enseñanza publica," in Colección de leyes, decretos y resoluciones emanados de los poderes legislativo y ejecutivo de la República de 1916–1918 (Santo Domingo: Imprenta Listín Diario, 1929).

Appendix D

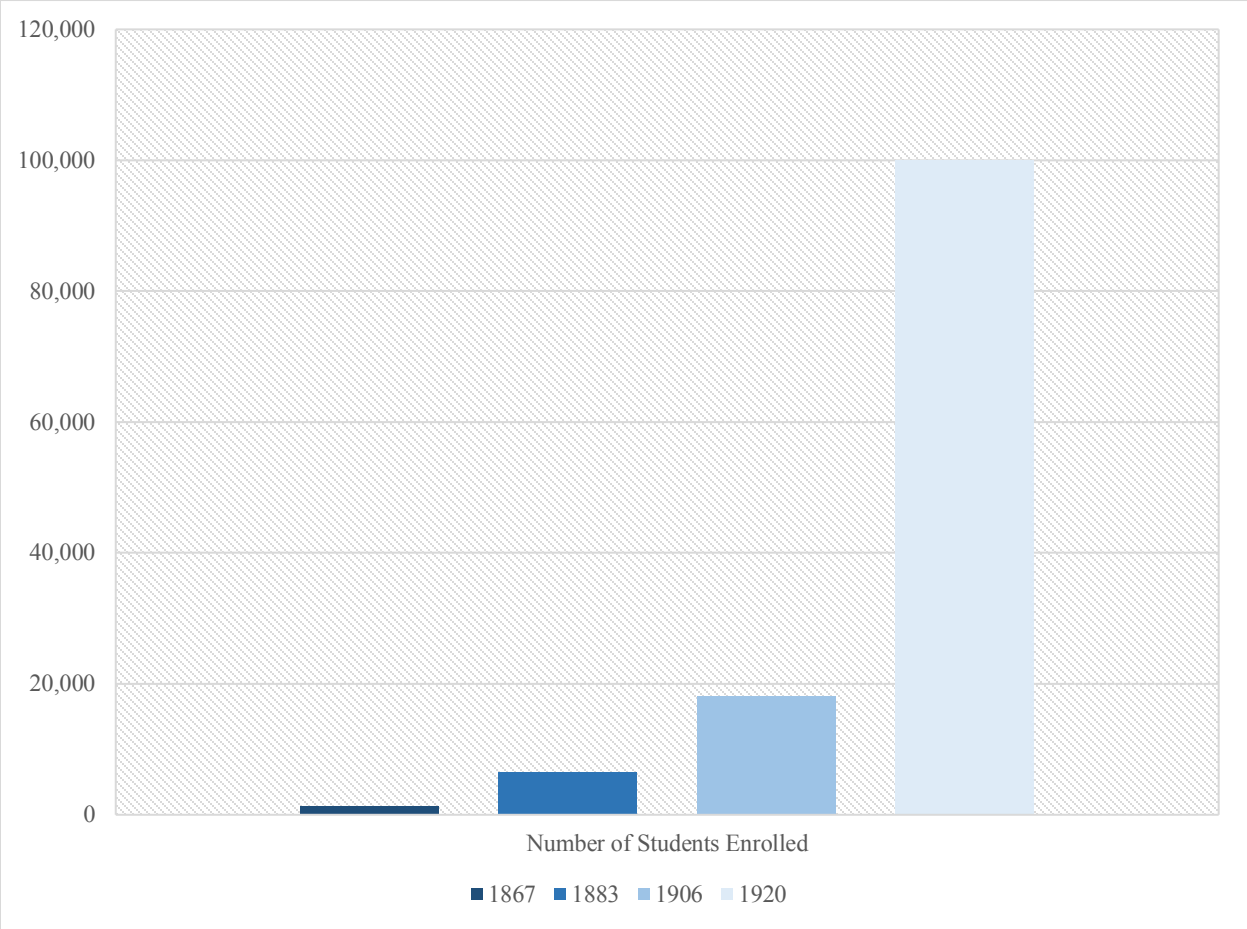
Number of Public Primary and Secondary Schools, 1867–1920 [3]



[3] Sources: 1867 and 1883 data collected from Ramón Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: CENAPEC, 1985), 138; Morrison, 221. 1906 and 1920 data collected from Juan Alfonseca, "Imperialismo, autoritarismo y modernización agrícola en las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural, 1898–1940," in *Campesinos y escolares: la construcción de la escuela en el campo latinoamericano siglos xix y xx* ed. by Alicia Civera Cerecedo, Juan Alfonseca Giner de los Rios, Carlos Escalante Fernandez (Zinacantepec, Estado de México: Colegio Mexiquense, 2011), 270.

Appendix E

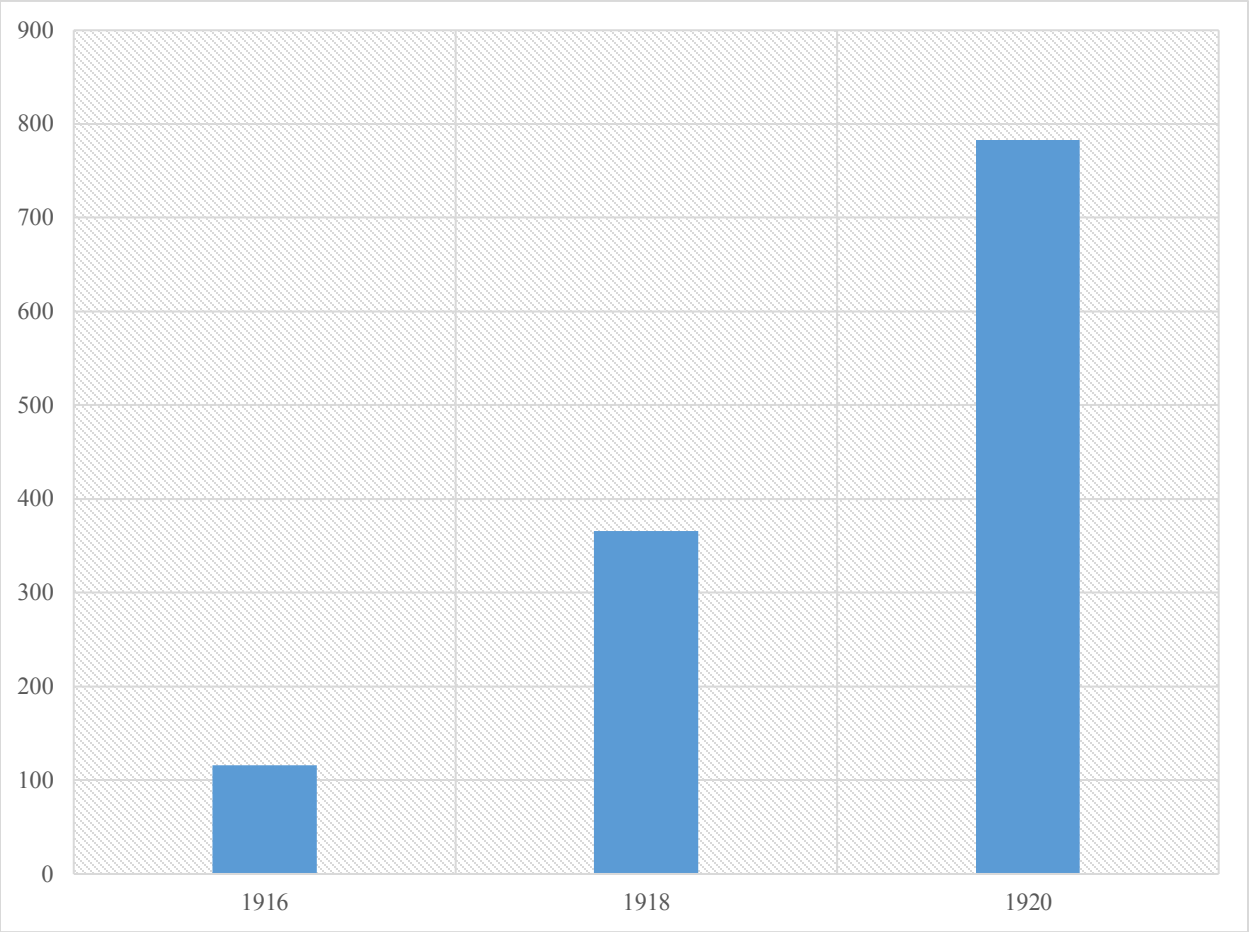
Number of Students Enrolled in Public Schools, 1867–1920 [4]



[4] Sources: 1867 and 1883 data collected from Morrison, *Historia de la educación en la Republica Dominicana*, 136; Morrison, 221. 1906 and 1920 data collected from Juan Alfonseca, "Imperialismo, autoritarismo y modernización agrícola en las vías antillanas a la escolarización rural, 1898–1940," 270.

Appendix F

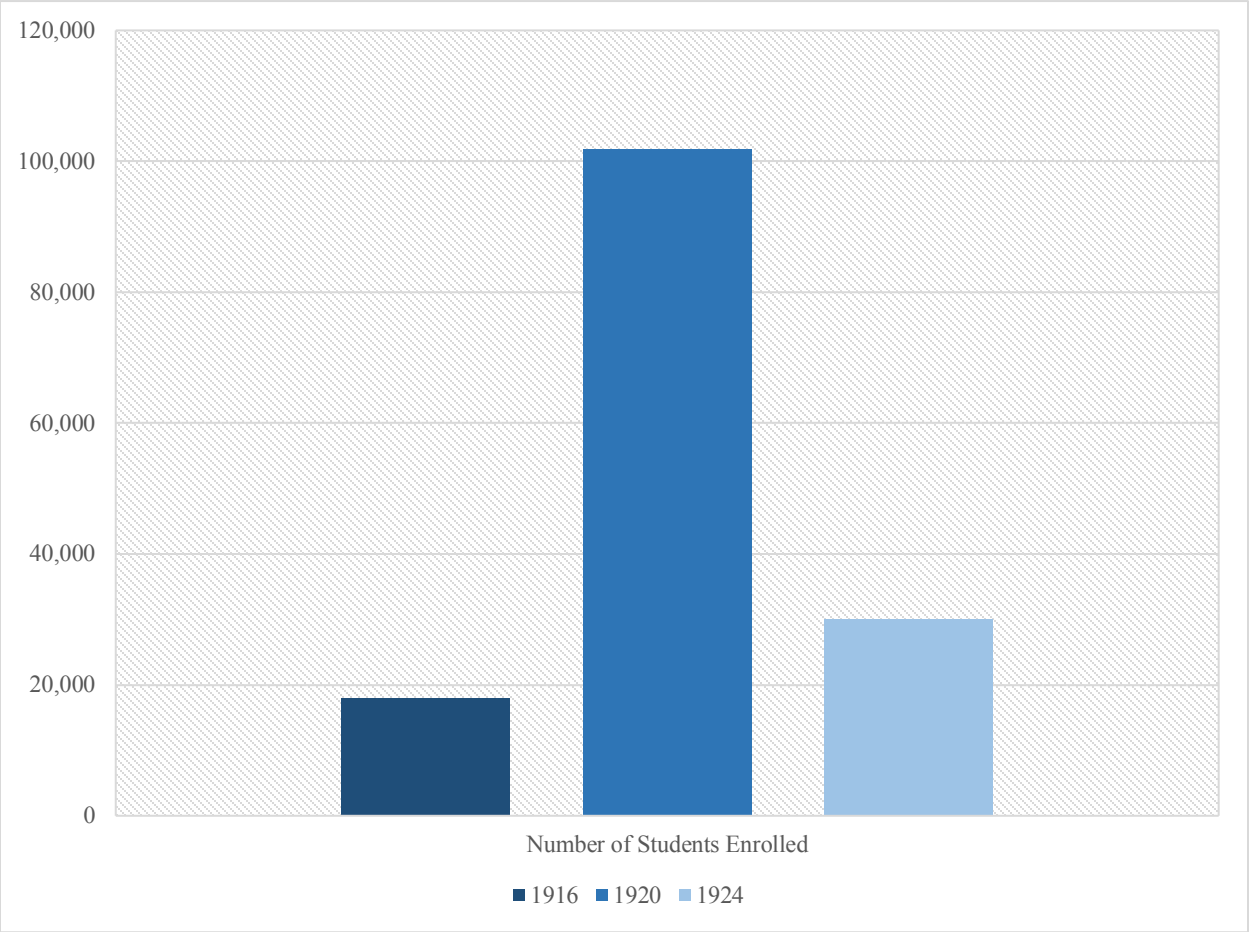
Number of Rudimentary Schools, 1916–1920 [5]



[5] Sources: 1916 data collected from "Condiciones educativas en Santo Domingo," leg 1700231, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; 1918 data collected from "Quarterly Report of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, from April 1, 1918 to June 30, 1918," Quarterly Reports of the Military Governor, 1917–1923; E-15/Box1; Military Government of Santo Domingo; RG 38: Chief of Naval Intelligence; US National Archives (NARA); 1920 data from "Education: Illiteracy," Folder 4: Latin American Schools, Box 3, Latin American General Records, 1911 – 1974, Burke Library Archives, Columbia University Libraries.

Appendix G

Number of Students Enrolled in Public Schools, 1916–1924 [6]



[6] Sources: 1916 data collected from "Condiciones educativas en Santo Domingo," Leg 1700231, Military Government 1916–1924, AGN; 1920 and 1924 data from "Education: Illiteracy," Folder 4: Latin American Schools, Box 3, Latin American General Records, 1911 – 1974, Burke Library Archives.